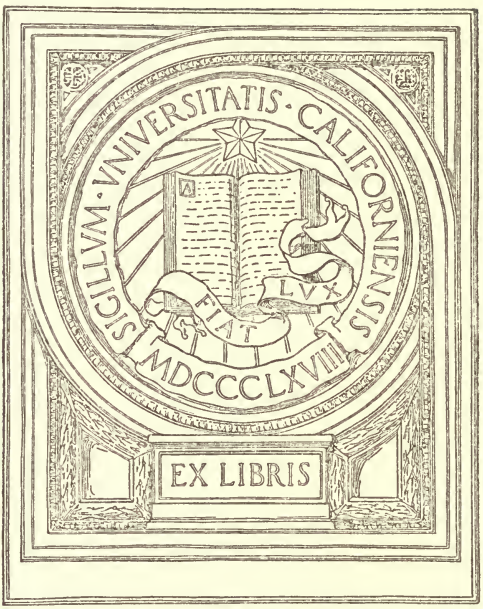
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MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

COMPRISING PORTIONS OF

HIS DIARY FROM 1795 TO 1848.

EDITED BY

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

VOL. XI.

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MEMOIRS

OF

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

VOL. XI.—1

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

MEMOIRS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

CHAPTER XXI. (*Continued.*)

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

SEPTEMBER 1st, 1841.—Mr. Fletcher Webster called on me this morning, to enquire from his father whether I was satisfied with the note to the Spanish Minister, Argaiz, which had been communicated to me some weeks since, for my advice, so that he might send it. I said that if it was to close the correspondence on the subject it required no alteration or addition. It put the whole case on the decision of the Supreme Court; and that was sufficient. It did not touch the merits of the question as between the two Governments; and that was to be avoided if possible. But if Mr. Argaiz was to reply, and to press the claim for reparation, it would be best to suggest to him the inconvenience of a discussion which could lead to no result satisfactory to him or his Government, and which must necessarily become criminatory.

He said Mr. Argaiz had intimated that he should consider this note as closing the discussion.

At the House, Zadok Casey took his seat as the third member from Illinois. I prevailed finally upon the House to adopt my fourth resolution, offered on the 23d of June, instructing the Committee of Ways and Means to report a bill prohibiting the further investment of public funds in State stocks.

W. O. Butler, of Kentucky, made an hour speech against Webster on the McLeod resolution. Precisely at noon the House adjourned, after refusing, by yeas and nays, to adjourn

half an hour before, and concurring in an amendment of the Senate to the Post-Office Appropriation bill. The adjournment was for a Whig caucus; instead of which I went into the Senate-chamber and heard them debate the Fiscal Corporation bill. I left Benton prosing anti-bankism.

3d. J. G. Floyd finished his replication speech on his McLeod resolution, and was followed by Horace Everett, with a short outline speech. Boardman moved to lay the resolution on the table; whereupon Floyd called for the yeas and nays; and at half-past eleven the House adjourned, after an abortive attempt to adjourn over to Monday.

Colonel Hayne, of South Carolina, came to my seat to request a conversation with me at some convenient time about a plan which he has formed for settling by a compromise the great slavery question, and which he wishes me to undertake. His views are pure and benevolent. I promised cheerfully to see and hear him on the subject, without fixing the time.

In the Senate, my bill to prohibit further investments of United States public funds in stocks of the States was no sooner read than Woodbury and Sevier, the contractors of the bargain consummated by the sixth section of the West Point Appropriation Act of 1838, immediately started up, and one of them moved to lay it on the table. It was, however, referred to the Committee of Finance, of which Henry Clay is Chairman, and I commended the bill to his care. He referred me to George Evans, a member of the same committee, who, he said, would have charge of the bill.

The Senate this day passed the Fiscal Corporation bill—twenty-seven to twenty-two—with a certainty that it will be vetoed by President Tyler. I was dallying in conversation with several members in the House when the vote was taken. I went in soon afterwards, and found them engaged upon the Fortification bill; but immediately after they went into Executive business, and I came home.

4th. At the House, Boardman had moved yesterday to lay the McLeod resolution on the table, and the yeas and nays had been called. I had been urged by several members to

speak on this question, and had hesitated whether I would or not down till I entered the House this morning. In my hesitation, I had made no preparation to speak, and had not one line noting the topics to be touched upon. I finally asked Boardman if he would withdraw his motion to lay the resolution on the table.

Oh, yes, if I would renew it.

I said I could not do that, if any one should wish to reply to me.

Well, he withdrew his motion without condition.

I then rambled through a speech, without method or compass, till the Speaker's hammer came down, announcing that my hour was out. Several motions were made for permission to me to proceed; but I declined. I scarcely know what I said; but Wheeler, the reporter, told me he had ample notes, and would send them to me. He told me, too, that his "nubibus hic tumidus, fluctibus ille minax," was from an Ode of Horace.[1] When I finished, or rather when my speech was amputated, Wise rose, and said he wished, as a Virginian, to defend Stevenson, whom I had lashed; and I entreated that he might have liberty to proceed; but he had spoken his hour on the question before the House, and they refused to hear him now. Boardman renewed his motion to lay the resolution on the table, and it was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and nine to seventy. Wise then asked leave to offer a resolution calling on the President for copies of Stevenson's dastardly letter to Commodore Hull. He was told that it had been communicated to the Senate and was published in their documents. The majority was for suspending the rules; but not two-thirds. Wise will hang his defence of Stevenson upon some other question, when I shall not be allowed or not prepared to reply to him. The House adjourned before twelve.

[1] On the 28th of the preceding month, Mr. Adams reports himself as having asked the Speaker what had become of the McLeod resolution, and some one had replied it was "in nubibus." To his great surprise, he found in the report of the Intelligencer the next morning, as attributed to him, the passage inserted as it stands in the text. This was quite enough intensely to rouse his desire to trace the source of the quotation. It was not from Horace, as will appear hereafter.

David Levy, the delegate from Florida, against whom the Committee of Elections have reported as not a citizen of the United States, came to my seat to crave my assistance in his favor; but his case, though hard, is desperate.

5th. Mr. Gould, whom Mr. Henry brought with him and introduced to me last evening, has invented a plan of a commonplace book, an improvement upon Locke's, and which he wishes to introduce into common schools as a part of the education of children. Short-hand writing is a part of his system, and he read me parts of a dissertation upon his project, for which he wanted a recommendatory notice from me. I declined giving it, on the general rule that I have prescribed to myself; but said I believed it would be very useful if a practicable system of such a manual could be simplified to the intellect and industry of common minds—which I doubted. I had occupied and amused a long life in the search of such a compendious wisdom-box, but without being able to find or make it. I had made myself more than one of Locke's commonplace books, but never used any one of them. I had learnt and practised Byrom's short-hand writing, but no one could read it but myself. I had kept accounts by double entry, day-book, journal, and ledger, with cash-book, bank-book, house-book, and letter-book. I had made extracts, copies, translations, and quotations, more perhaps than any other man living, without ever being able to pack up my knowledge or my labors in any methodical order; and now doubt whether I might not have employed my time more profitably in some one great, well-compacted, comprehensive pursuit, adapting every hour of labor to the attainment of one great end.

6th. There are numerous nominations pending before the Senate, made at the commencement of or very early in the session, and upon which the action of the Senate has been and is yet suspended. Among them is that of Edward Everett, upon the charge of his being an abolitionist.

This morning, at the House, John W. Jones presented resolutions of a Democratic meeting in the county of Amelia, Virginia, against all the measures of the present session of Congress; laid on the table.

Taliaferro moved a resolution that William Smith, who contests the election of Linn Banks, be allowed pay as a member during the present session, because the Committee of Elections have, at the request of Mr. Banks, allowed him time till the next session to take testimony to prove his election. Motion not received.

George W. Summers, Chairman of the select Committee on the Contingent Expenses of the House, asked leave for the committee to report at the next session, and stated some of the expenses of printing and stationery as very exorbitant. The resolution was adopted.

The report of the Committee of Elections against David Levy, returned as delegate from the Territory of Florida, then came up. Halsted enquired of Levy whether he desired to be heard by counsel. Levy then asked a postponement of the question till the next session, that he may have the means of proving by testimony that his father was entitled to the rights of a citizen of the United States on the transfer of the Territory of Florida from Spain to the United States. He supported his demand in a speech of more than an hour, and Halsted, Stanly, Gamble, and Wise took part in the debate, till half-past one—when Pope moved to adjourn, and it was carried.

The reporter sent me his notes of my speech of Saturday, upon the McLeod resolution—so wretchedly put together that it will take me almost as much time to write them out as if I had no notes at all.

7th. I have been not a little perplexed in coming to a conclusion upon the case of David Levy, the delegate from Florida, on his contested election. There is no competition; the objection is that he is not a citizen of the United States. I fear he will not be able to prove that he is; but it is perhaps equally hard to prove that to be a citizen of the United States is a qualification indispensable for a delegate from the Territory of Florida. The question was taken this morning upon his application for time till the winter session; and it was carried—one hundred and twenty-three to forty-four—the members of the House yet present being reduced nearly to one hundred and seventy.

Harris, of Virginia, together with W. A. Goode, presented anti-session Democratic resolutions from Clarke County, in that State; laid on the table. He complained that the House would neither hear, read, nor print them.

Owsley, of Kentucky, offered two resolutions of amendment to the Constitution: one, to restrict the Presidential office to one term of service; the other, to make a majority of the whole number of members of both Houses paramount to a veto. Hopkins objects, and the resolutions are not received.

William Russell, a plain, sensible Ohio farmer, who sits at my right hand, presented resolutions of a Whig Convention of delegates in that State; laid on the table. He told me he was in a state of extreme agitation at hearing the sound of his own voice in that hall.

Taliaferro offered again the resolution he had attempted to introduce yesterday, to allow pay as a member to William Smith, who contests the election of Linn Banks—because the Committee of Elections, at the request of Banks, had allowed him time till the next session to take further testimony, the balance of the evidence being at this time against him, and in favor of Smith. The resolution was now received; but the committee had made no report, and they had not the power to allow Banks time till the next session to take testimony, without the sanction of the House. I objected to the resolution, as not in order; but the Speaker said it had been received by general consent, and the objection was now too late. Banks made a passionate speech, which nobody heard or heeded. Fillmore moved to lay the resolution on the table; carried.

Ferris reported from the Committee of Foreign Relations a resolution requesting the President to consider the propriety of entering into negotiations with the British Government to procure the release of the citizens of the United States transported to Van Diemen's Land for participation in the Canadian insurrection. This resolution was sliding down without a dissenting voice, when I stopped the Speaker as he was putting the question, and remonstrated against it. Holmes, of South Carolina, as usual, replied to me. Stanly moved to adjourn; carried.

8th. My poem on the Wants of Man is published in the National Intelligencer this morning, from the Albany Evening Journal, from a copy taken by Christopher Morgan and sent to Mrs. Seward, wife of the Governor of New York. I have given copies of it in my own handwriting to John P. Kennedy, of Baltimore, to Mrs. Dawson, wife of William C. Dawson, of Greensborough, Georgia, and to Mrs. Hunt, wife of Hiram P. Hunt, of Troy, New York. I have promised copies to George W. Summers, of Kenawha C. H., Virginia, and to Garret Davis, of Paris, Kentucky. Alexander Randall, of Annapolis, Maryland, John Greig, of Canandaigua, New York, and William H. Washington, of Newbern, North Carolina, have, with my permission, taken copies of it themselves; and I consented, at Morgan's request, to its being published.[1]

Ferris's Van Diemen's Land resolution was called up by Horace Everett, immediately after the reading of the journal, as the unfinished business of yesterday. Everett made a short speech, and said he had assented in the Committee of Foreign Relations to report this resolution, under an impression that it was offered in a conciliatory spirit, and with the hope that it might have that tendency; but, after Ferris's speech in support of the resolution yesterday, his opinion concerning it was entirely changed, and he moved to lay the resolution on the table.

Ferris immediately entreated him to withdraw the motion, to give him an opportunity to explain; which Everett did, on condition that he would renew the motion to lay the resolution on the table; which Ferris promised to do. His explanation was a mere hollow-hearted denial of all intention to inflame the irritation between the two countries, and an assurance that his intention was altogether conciliatory.

Fernando Wood, of New York, urgently begged Everett to withdraw the motion to lay on the table, and allow him to speak. Everett declined. The question to lay on the table was rejected by yeas and nays—eighty to eighty-one—almost

[1] This poem proved by far the most popular production of Mr. Adams's pen in this line of composition. It has obtained a place in the volume entitled "Parnassus," edited by Mr. R. Waldo Emerson, during the very last year, but shorn of five of its stanzas.

every member from the State of New York, Whig or Democrat, voting against laying on the table. Wood then made an incendiary speech, and John McKeon another, in the midst of which the morning hour expired, and Fillmore moved the orders of the day.

An amendment of the Senate to the Diplomatic Appropriation bill was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union; so were their amendments to the Revenue bill; and these were immediately taken up, Barker Burnell in the chair. One of the Senate's amendments was, to strike out from the dutiable articles tea and coffee. Wise moved to add salt. Lost in committee of the whole, but carried in the House, by yeas and nays—ninety-four to eighty-eight. Then, moved by Stanly, sugar—one hundred and five to seventy-five, and cotton—one hundred and five to seventy-eight. House in a snarl, and adjourned.

9th. Second Veto. Wise and Stanly.

H. R. U. S. Fillmore moved a call of the House; but Hopkins, for the same purpose, moved to adjourn, and asked the yeas and nays, to give the members time to come in. The vote was one hundred and fifty nays, including that of Hopkins himself. The unfinished business was the motion for reconsideration of the votes of yesterday exempting from duty salt, sugar, and cotton—all reconsidered by yeas and nays—salt, ninety-five to seventy-nine; sugar, one hundred and one to eighty; cotton, one hundred and nineteen to sixty. Wise then withdrew his motion to amend the Senate's amendment by exempting salt; and Stanly withdrew his motion to exempt sugar and cotton. The amendment of the Senate exempting tea and coffee was concurred in—one hundred and seventy-eight to seven, of which my vote was one. There was an amendment of the Senate excluding all duties over twenty per cent. ad valorem, to which Fillmore moved an amendment, which was carried.

The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Samson Mason in the chair, on the amendments of the Senate to the Diplomatic Appropriation bill: there was one striking out the item for a Chargé d'Affaires at Naples;

disagreed to, after a long debate, in the midst of which Robert Tyler came in, and the Speaker took the chair. R. Tyler then announced that the President had signed three bills, and then a message in writing. It was the veto to the Fiscal Corporation bill, which was immediately read. Jeremiah Morrow, of Ohio, then rose, and moved that the message be entered on the journal of the House, printed for the use of the members of the House, and that to-morrow at twelve o'clock be appointed to reconsider the bill; which was adopted unanimously.

Mason then resumed the chair of the committee of the whole, and McKeon finished a speech, which he had before begun, in favor of agreeing with the amendment of the Senate which struck out the appropriation for the mission to Naples. Cushing, Steenrod, Wise, took part in the debate. I urged the House to disagree to the Senate's amendment. Ingersoll followed, and Stanly made some cutting remarks upon Wise. Fillmore followed, but had said only a few words, when Wise crossed from his seat to that of Stanly, began by hectoring and finished by insulting him—whereupon Stanly called him a LIAR. Wise struck, or attempted to strike, him, and a fight ensued; a rush of members to the spot, whether to separate the combatants or to take sides with them it was difficult to say. The Speaker took the chair, and roared, "Order! order!" but no order came. Many cried out, "The Sergeant-at-Arms! the Sergeant-at-Arms!" but no Sergeant-at-Arms appeared. After about five minutes of chaos, Wise appeared in his seat, addressed the Speaker, said he was perfectly cool, and most humbly begged pardon of the House, and told how he had gone over to remonstrate with Stanly, that words had ensued, till Stanly had applied to him a word which he could not brook, and he had struck him. Stanly said he had no pardon to ask of the House; that he had told Wise he was a liar, and would have chastised him severely if other members had not interfered. Ingersoll offered a resolution to investigate the *rencontre*—a committee of seven; adopted.

10th. H. R. U. S. On the reading of the journal this morning, the names of the seven members of the committee to investigate the rencontre between Wise and Stanly, as Charles J.

Ingersoll calls it, were announced by the Clerk—Ingersoll, Morrow, Everett, Caruthers, Saltonstall, Holmes, and Ferris. Everett asked to be excused, because he had expressed an opinion on the transaction yesterday; but the House refused to excuse him. After the hubbub was over yesterday, I moved the House to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the amendments of the Senate to the Diplomatic Appropriation bill; done—Pope in the chair.

I took part in the debate, to disagree with the amendment striking out the Neapolitan mission, and to agree to the amendment making an extra allowance of three months' pay for this session to the officers of both Houses; succeeded in both. Then the committee took up the amendments of the Senate to the Smithson Fund bill, with which the House, at my motion, agreed; and so the bill has gone through both Houses.

This morning there was much business done before noon. W. C. Johnson announced, with great satisfaction, that the sudden and transient difference between Mr. Wise and Mr. Stanly had been entirely adjusted by the intervention of their common friends, to their mutual satisfaction, and that the former friendly relations between them are restored.

At noon Botts called up the Veto message and the reconsideration of the Fiscal Corporation bill, and he pronounced a severe philippic of one hour upon President John Tyler, whom he accused of treachery and perfidy to the Whig party. He was answered in another hour speech by Thomas W. Gilmer, who was not less personally severe upon Botts, who resented it more in temper than in words. He referred to a bet of ten thousand dollars upon the last Presidential election, which Botts avowed that he had made; and Gilmer used the term "jockey," with indistinct reference to some horse-trading of Botts, not generally known to the House, but felt by him. Some time after, Alexander H. H. Stuart announced that this difficulty had been adjusted by the intervention of mutual friends, and read a written statement to that effect.

The debate on the bill was continued by Proffit and Lane, of Indiana, Mason, of Ohio, Isaac D. Jones, of Princess Anne, Maryland, Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, till half-past six,

when Gamble, of Georgia, moved the previous question; which was carried, and the vote on the bill, by yeas and nays, was one hundred and three to eighty—not two-thirds. Bill lost. The last amendments on the Revenue bill and the Smithson Fund bill were passed, and the House adjourned.

Meeting at Mr. Webster's of the Massachusetts delegation. Bates and Choate, Senators, Adams, Baker, Borden, Burnell, Cushing, Hudson, Saltonstall, Winthrop; absent, Briggs, Calhoun, Hastings, Parmenter. More to-morrow. Home at eleven P.M. Impransus.

11th. The meeting at Mr. Webster's last evening was at his request. He stated that the Secretary of the Treasury, Thomas Ewing, the Secretary of the Navy, George E. Badger, of North Carolina, and the Attorney-General, John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, had called on him this day and informed him that they and John Bell, of Tennessee, had determined to send in their resignations of their respective offices (the latter, of Secretary of War) to President Tyler at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning.

Mr. Webster then, addressing me, said that, being thus placed in a peculiar position, and seeing no sufficient cause for resigning his office, he had requested this meeting to consult with the members of the delegation and to have the benefit of their opinions, assuring them that as to the office itself it was a matter of the most perfect indifference to him whether he retained or resigned it—a declaration which it is possible he believed when he made it. But he had prefaced it by stating that he saw no cause sufficient to justify his resignation. It was like Falstaff's recruit "Bullcalf." "In very truth, sir, I had as lief be hanged, sir, as go; and yet, for mine own part, sir, I do not care; but rather because I am unwilling, and for mine own part have a desire to stay with my friends; else, sir, I did not care for mine own part so much."

I asked him what reasons his colleagues had assigned for their determination to resign. He said they were various. The Secretary of the Treasury, Ewing, thought he had been disrespectfully treated by Mr. Tyler, and, further, that Mr. Tyler claimed some authority concerning the management of the

Treasury, which Ewing thought contrary to law. Mr. Crittenden had personal relations with Mr. Clay which rendered his position now, as a confidential member of Mr. Tyler's Administration, specially irksome, and to which he thought he could no longer submit. Mr. Bell and Mr. Badger were sensitive to some part of the deportment of the President to them, which they thought manifested a want of confidence in them—at least Mr. Badger; for Mr. Bell was not with the others when they came to him this day, and he had not stated what his reason for resigning was. For himself, Mr. Webster said, Mr. Tyler had never treated him with disrespect, and he had no doubt it was his desire that he should remain in the Department of State. He gave a very brief narrative of the progress of the two Bank bills, and intimated his own belief that Mr. Tyler would have signed the second bill but for the publication of Botts's letter to the "Richmond Coffee-House."

Enquiry was made how that most intimate confidential intercourse between the President and the correspondent of the New York Herald was to be considered, coupled with the continual ferocious and scurrilous abuse in that paper upon all the members of the Cabinet, including Mr. Webster himself. He said Mr. Tyler had two indiscreet sons, and he believed that the exceptionable intercourse has been established and carried on through them. But the joint resignation of the four heads of Departments together was a Clay movement, to make up an issue before the people against Mr. Tyler.

We all agreed that Mr. Webster would not be justified in resigning at this time; but we all felt that the hour for the requiem of the Whig party was at hand.

At the House this morning a message was received from the Senate announcing that they had agreed to the resolution of the House to adjourn on Monday next, striking out the words "at eleven o'clock A.M."—with which the House immediately concurred. Charles J. Ingersoll presented a report from the committee appointed to investigate the attack and assault by Wise upon Stanly in his seat, which Ingersoll's resolution called a "rencontre." The report commenced with a written statement of the facts by each of the two parties, not materially

differing from each other; then the report concludes with several resolutions: 1, that the whole report and the two statements of facts should be spread upon the journal of the House as a *reprimand;* and then other resolutions: that hereafter, if any member shall strike another, he shall be expelled; and if any one shall insult another, he shall be fined one hundred dollars; and upon this report Ingersoll moved the previous question. I asked him to withdraw it, and he refused. I then moved to lay the report on the table, but withdrew it on a promise from several members that the previous question should be voted down.

I rose, and enquired to whom the reprimand to be recorded on the journal was meant to apply. Ingersoll answered by a sneaking, insidious, inflammatory, equivocating speech, without naming either of the parties; finally said that every one might apply it as he pleased.

Stanly enquired of him whether the report was intended to apply the term "reprimand" to him, and he said he could not tell. He said the committee were all elderly men, and had agreed unanimously to the report; but three of them, Everett, Saltonstall, and Caruthers, disowned it; and Caruthers said he had moved, or intended to move, and he did actually move, in the House, to add to the word "reprimand" the words "to Henry A. Wise." Warren moved as a substitute a resolution to expel Wise, who, with a forlorn and crafty affectation of humility, said he hoped the House would not pass any vote of censure upon Stanly, and that for himself, he would submit to any judgment the House would pass upon him, for there was but one man in the House whose judgment he was unwilling to abide by, and that was me.

He thought by this insult to provoke me to an intemperate retort, which would divert the attention of the House from himself to me. I retorted only by disclaiming all personal hostility to him, and by opposing any vote of censure upon him. Alexander H. H. Stuart at last moved the recommitment of the report, with instructions to report a resolution that, as Wise had apologized to the House and settled with Stanly, the House would take no further order on the subject; which was

adopted, by yeas and nays—a hundred and four to fifty-six. Adjourned about three P.M.

12th. Mr. Webster told us last evening that the Postmaster-General, Francis Granger, desired and intended to remain in office; but he resigned this morning together with the four other heads of Departments, leaving Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, the sole remnant of the Harrison Administration, alone in his glory.

As I was going to church this morning, I met Miss Cutts, who put into my hands a note which she had received, requesting her if she could, by any female diplomacy, obtain from me this day, before night, a copy of my verses addressed to the two Misses Bruce, written at the request of Mr. William Cost Johnson, and given by me to him, with my permission to have them published, if he pleased, in the Southern Literary Messenger, a quarterly periodical published at Richmond, Virginia. I found that the note was from John Howard Payne, a poetical, dramatic, and political adventurer, now here an applicant for an appointment as Secretary of Legation to any of our foreign missions, a most familiar and intimate acquaintance of President Tyler's two sons John and Robert, and a confidential correspondent of James Gordon Bennett's New York Herald, a paper in which the most secret proceedings of the President and his Cabinet have, for the last six weeks, been divulged, with the most fulsome adulation to President Tyler, and the most unbounded and scurrilous abuse upon every member of the Cabinet. This paper has, at the same time, had almost daily notices of me, sometimes minatorial, but for the last ten days nauseously flattering. Some three weeks since, the Herald's correspondent, having heard of my verses to the Misses Bruce, promised Bennett a copy of them for publication the next week, and the next week said that he could not furnish them yet, but he should have them. Mr. Payne's note says that Mr. Cost Johnson had promised him a copy of the verses, but afterwards said that he had lost it. Miss Cutts came this afternoon for an answer to Mr. Payne's request. I told her that I would with much pleasure comply with it, but that I had given the verses to Mr. Johnson, with permission to

dispose of them at his pleasure, and did not feel myself at liberty to give another copy without his permission. I have no doubt that Payne wanted the copy to send to Bennett, so that the Herald might get the start of the Southern Literary Messenger in the publication.

13th. H. R. U. S. There was no quorum, but the journal was no sooner read than John B. Weller, of Hamilton, Butler County, Ohio, a prince of the mock Democracy, now called Loco-focos, called up Ferris's Van Diemen's Land resolution. I objected to its being considered without a quorum, and said if a quorum could be obtained I should move to lay it on the table. Graham, of North Carolina, moved a call of the House; yeas and nays—fifty-two to thirty-three. The call was commenced, but soon superseded, and there was no quorum the whole day.

Several resolutions were offered, but none received, except a motion by Horace Everett for the usual committee to be joined by one from the Senate to wait on the President and inform him that, if he had no further communications to make, the two Houses were ready to adjourn. Everett, Lewis Williams, of North Carolina, and Aaron Ward, of New York, were the committee on the part of the House. A recess was then taken by the House—first till noon, and then till five P.M.—during which I came home and dined.

I returned to the House at five. In the mean time, several other members had gone off in the cars. The committee on the part of the Senate to wait on the President were soon after appointed; but they waited some time for the President to receive them at the Capitol, and Lewis Williams would not and did not go with them. About dusk, Thomas F. Marshall, of Kentucky, rose, and enquired of the Speaker if it would be in order for him to make a motion on any subject whatever. The Speaker said it would. He moved that five thousand copies of the Veto message be printed, and then made a speech of nearly an hour and a half, in his own peculiar style of eloquence, sublimated by no thin potations. Bitter invective upon John Tyler, extravagant commendatory vituperation upon Wise, lofty sentiment, comprehensive views, and alcohol evaporating

in elegant language, constituted this speech—at the close of which he withdrew his motion. Everett, from the joint committee, soon after came in and reported, and about eight o'clock the Speaker adjourned the House without day.

14th. I met Mr. Henry A. Wise, who spoke to me and offered me his hand—civilities which I accepted and returned; though I should not have offered them after his openly pointing to me in the House as the only man there unfit to be his judge, by supposed personal hostility to him, at the very moment when I was toiling to save him from all censure, and others were offering repeated motions for his expulsion.

I went to the Capitol, and took my seat in the House for the next session, calling Follansbee, the Door-keeper, to witness it. Met there H. Everett, and Stanly, who was franking documents, and who thinks worse of Wise than I do. I took at the Clerk's office the supplementary document of Trist's dispatches. Mr. Henry Clay and Mr. Francis Granger paid me evening visits. Much interesting conversation with both of them, which I have not time to record.

15th. I took the revised manuscript of my speech on the McLeod resolution to the office of the National Intelligencer, for publication. It was so wretchedly travestied by the man who took the notes that I had as much trouble with it as I should have had to write it out in extenso. Mr. Gales promised to publish it next Saturday, and to send me the proof-slips to-morrow evening. Met Stanly at the office, who had just called at my house, and would call again to-morrow morning if he should postpone his departure till the afternoon. Gales told me that Mr. Webster was very unwell; and I called at his house, but he was not there. I found him at the office of the Department of State. I spoke of the call from the House for the aggregates of the Census, adopted early in the session, at my motion, and enquired if I could be furnished with a copy of it before my departure. I enquired also what was the present state of the negotiation with Great Britain concerning the case of McLeod. He said there had been no further correspondence since that which was published, till this day, when he had received from Mr. Fox a note, which he would show me if I

would call at the office at two o'clock to-morrow, and he would then also give me an answer respecting the aggregate of the Census. We had much conversation upon the McLeod case, but upon nothing else.

16th. Edward Stanly, a member of the House from North Carolina, called to take leave. He has excellent principles, and a lofty spirit, with a quick perception, an irritable temper, and a sarcastic turn of mind, sparing neither friend nor foe. He is the terror of the Lucifer party, and Wise made that desperate attempt last week to scale him on the floor, by which he only succeeded in flooring himself. Stanly's spirit is not to be subdued; but the thunderbolt of heaven has fallen upon the Whigs, and he, with all the honest men of the party, is disheartened and perplexed. We have no hope but in the redeeming power of heaven to overrule for good the seemingly most calamitous events.

I called twice this day at the Department of State. The first time the Secretary, Webster, was not at the office; so I passed over to the Treasury Department, and saw Mr. Walter Forward, the new Secretary. I spoke to him upon two subjects. 1. The Smithsonian Fund, of the history of which he is ignorant, and, from the civil, courteous, and wholly indifferent manner in which he received my communications, I presume he will care just as little as did his predecessors, Ewing and Woodbury. I told him what I had done, and what I propose to do; and he promised to send me a statement of the present condition of the fund, and the amount of the stocks of the several States which have been purchased under the authority of the sixth section of the West Point Academy Appropriation of 1838. And, 2, I spoke of the resolution of the House, adopted at my motion on the 23d of July last, calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for a report upon the debts of the several States.

Mr. Forward appeared not to have heard or not to have thought of that resolution; but he said he would attend to it, and that he would write to the Secretaries of the several States, to collect the information.

I then returned to the Department of State, and found Mr. Webster, who told me he was very unwell, and who appeared

to be in no very good humor. Neither Weaver nor any one of the clerks employed on the Census returns was there; and he told me I was too late—when it was not three o'clock, and I had been there an hour before and found him not at the office. But he promised to send me an answer on this subject to-morrow; and he gave me, to take home with me and read, Mr. Fox's note of the 5th of this month, upon the case of McLeod. It is an instruction, deeply earnest, to Fox from his Government, upon the opinion of the Judge of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, reminding Mr. Webster that he had admitted the exemption of McLeod from all individual criminality for acts done under the authority of his Government; and expressing the deep anxiety of the British Government for the preservation of peace, and their reliance upon the corresponding disposition of the President.

17th. After a long spell of dry weather, we had a moderate cool rain nearly all this day, and the setting in of autumn. I revised the proof-slips of my speech delivered on the 4th instant on the McLeod resolution, the language of which, wholly extemporaneous, is mean and tautological, full of repetitions, and desultory, but has the mérite de l'apropos. The speech has for the time saved Webster from the catastrophe which has befallen his colleagues. It has given him the means of saving himself from ruin, and his country from a most disastrous war. My reward from him will be professions of respect and esteem, speeches of approbation and regard for me to my friends, knowing that they will be reported to me, secret and deep-laid intrigues against me, and still more venomous against my son. Such is human nature, in the gigantic intellect, the envious temper, the ravenous ambition, and the rotten heart of Daniel Webster. His treatment of me has been, is, and will be, an improved edition of Andrew Jackson's gratitude. But these are things, according to Plutarch, not to be told in the biographies of great men. I took the slips to the office of the National Intelligencer, and left them with Mr. Gales for publication to-morrow. Gales says that Caleb Cushing wrote some of the most inflammatory letters against the late Cabinet, published in the New York Herald.

18th. My next call was at the Treasury Department, where I requested of the Secretary, Forward, a more particular statement of the State stocks in which the Smithsonian Funds, principal and interest, have been invested. At the Department of State I returned to Mr. Webster Mr. Fox's note of the 5th instant. He said he thought of answering it by saying that McLeod would be tried at his own solicitation by jury on the 27th of this month, and that if he should not be acquitted there will be an appeal to the Court of Errors of the State of New York, and from them to the Supreme Court of the United States. My speech on the McLeod resolution was published in the National Intelligencer this morning. Mr. Webster asked me to have it published in a pamphlet, and said he would order a thousand copies of it for circulation. He said the Great Western had arrived at New York; that the new Parliament had assembled in England; that the address against the Ministers had been carried in the House of Commons by a majority of ninety-one, and the Queen had sent for Sir Robert Peel and authorized him to form a Ministry at his discretion; that the subject of McLeod's detention had been noticed in Parliament; and he read me in the New York Herald of yesterday an extract from a speech of Lord Palmerston, fully confirming the statement made in my speech, that Mr. Webster's letter to Mr. Fox of the 24th of April, and the instructions to the Attorney-General, had softened down and conciliated in an eminent degree the bitterness and exasperation provoked by the previous communications from the Van Buren Administration and Pickens's report last winter.

I asked Mr. Webster if Mr. Tyler fully concurred in the proceedings of the Administration upon this subject before the decease of President Harrison.

He said he did, and reminded me that his letter to Mr. Fox was dated some weeks after Mr. Tyler had assumed the office of President of the United States. The Census aggregates were not ready for me; but Mr. Webster promised and directed that a copy of them should be made up and sent to me at Quincy next week.

From the Department of State I passed over to the Presi-

dent's house, and saw Mr. Tyler. His son Robert was with him, and Dixon H. Lewis, of Alabama, the man-mountain, with his wife, on a take-leave visit like mine. They soon withdrew, and I spoke to Mr. Tyler about the Smithsonian Fund and the debts of the States. There are now six hundred and twenty thousand dollars invested in State stocks bearing an interest of six per cent. a year, payable half-yearly. I told him I had at length succeeded in two measures at the recent session of Congress—one by introducing into the bill for distributing the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, the fourth section, whereby the portion coming at any time to any State shall be first applied to the payment of any debt, principal or interest, from the State to the United States; and the other by the repeal of the sixth section of the West Point Appropriation Act of 7th July, 1838, which required the investment of the accruing interest in State stocks, and substituting the investment of them in stocks of the United States—though this has been attended, much against my will, with authority to the Secretary of the Treasury to reduce the interest from six per cent. a year, which the State bonds now bear, to not less than five. The Secretary of the Treasury has obtained one million, or a million and a half, of the twelve-million loan authorized at the recent session of Congress, at five and a half per cent.; but he wants already two millions more, and has no prospect of obtaining them at a rate lower than six per cent., if at that; and I said if there should be an investment of the next semi-annual interest I hoped it would not be taken at a lower rate of interest than six per cent. But I was extremely anxious that the United States should not assume, but resume, the whole responsibility of that fund, and look themselves to the States for their punctuality of payment.

Mr. Tyler, in general terms, approved of these observations, and assured me that he would co-operate cordially with me for the faithful application of these funds to the purposes of the testator. He said he had my letter to the late Secretary Ewing, and had read it.

I spoke also of the call of H. R. U. S. on the Secretary of the Treasury for a report on the State debts, and gave

him some of my views upon that deeply interesting public concern.

He certainly did not concur with them; neither did he controvert them. When I suggested to him the certainty that the European Governments will ultimately hold the United States responsible for these State debts, he looked grave, but made no remark.

I went lastly to the office of the National Intelligencer, and requested Mr. Seaton to print my McLeod resolution speech in a pamphlet, and send me one hundred copies of it to Quincy. I told him that Mr. Webster had said he would order a thousand copies. Seaton lamented the manner in which the Whig presses are assailing Webster.

20th. I called at the Department of State, and met, coming out of the Secretary's chamber as I went in, the new Attorney-General, Hugh S. Legaré, who immediately said to me that he had read my speech on the McLeod resolution. I said, jokingly, I hoped it would help him in his argument. He said most certainly it would.

I spoke to Mr. Webster of the memorial from the protectors of the Amistad Africans to the President, praying that provision may be made for transporting them to Africa in one or more of the public ships which may be ordered upon that coast.

He requested me to see and speak to the President concerning it; and he promised to call and see me on his way to Marshfield, where he proposed shortly to pay a visit.

At the President's, conversation concerning the Amistad Africans. He has no recollection of the memorial addressed to him on this subject. Spoke of the Colonization Society.

New York, 22d.—I called at Arthur Tappan's house, and thence went to Lewis Tappan's office, No. 7 Exchange Buildings. Found Mr. Jocelyn there with him. Long conversation with them respecting the Amistad Africans. They were about writing to the Secretary of State for an answer to their memorial to the President requesting that the Africans may be sent home in a public vessel or vessels. I told them of my interviews with the Secretary of State and the President before my

departure from Washington, and of my impression that the President will do nothing on the subject without a previous Act of Congress. I mentioned that he had either not read, or did not remember, their memorial to him, and that he proposed to me to shift off upon the Colonization Society the burden of sending the Mendians to Africa, while the Society itself is begging crumbs from the Southern slave-holders to pay its debts and ship off some of their emancipated slaves. These gentlemen are very anxious to send all the Africans, including the young girls, home this autumn; but in that they will certainly be disappointed.

QUINCY, 24th.—John A. Green, editor of the Quincy Patriot, came this morning with a slip of the paper to be published to-morrow, upon which was printed about half the stanzas of my ballad upon "The Wants of Man." He was reprinting it from the United States Gazette, which had taken it from the Albany Evening Journal, which first made it public from the copy sent by Morgan to Thurlow Weed. Many errors of the press had crept into it, and it was without the eighth stanza, written after Morgan had sent off his copy, and first published in the National Intelligencer. I revised Mr. Green's slip, and gave him a copy of the additional stanza. Mr. Green sent me this evening the slip containing the remaining stanzas, the whole now being twenty-five. Nothing that I ever wrote was half so popular; though it was chance-begotten, to make autographs for poor Charles Ogle's note-paper, and though the full copy had remained in my portfolio fourteen months, to dumb forgetfulness a prey, till I accidentally mentioned it, and afterwards sent it to John P. Kennedy to read. What a lesson this might be to me, if I knew how to improve it!

25th. My excusatory letter to invitations from colleges, lyceums, and other literary associations which I had left unanswered, was published in the National Intelligencer on the 21st instant, the day that I left Washington. On the same day was published in the same paper the letter of George E. Badger, late Secretary of the Navy, assigning his reasons for resigning that office. In that journal of the next day appeared a letter from John Bell, the late Secretary of War, with a statement of

facts for the same exculpatory purpose on his part. Two letters from Daniel Webster, Secretary of State—one to the editors of the Intelligencer, and the other to Hiram Ketchum, of New York—have assigned to the public his reasons for not resigning his office. The whole of this controversy has assumed too much of a personal character; but its inevitable result will be the total overthrow of the Whig party throughout the Union. Victrix causa Deis placuit.

October 11th. This afternoon four gentlemen met here at the same time, two of them from Milton, Mr. Rowe and Mr. Robbins, the other two from Lynn, Mr. Oliver and Mr. Newhall—both deputations from the lyceums of those places to request me to deliver lectures at each of them. I have not firmness to resist these personal applications, and have some difficulty in suppressing the temptation to answer rudely—which would be inexcusable. One of the applications which I received last Friday was from Watterman Thomas, Bourne Thomas, Luther Rogers, Charles W. Macomber, Daniel Phillips, Edward P. Little, and John Tilden, a committee from the town of Marshfield for the improvement of North River. Their invitation is, that I would visit Marshfield and, with many of their townsmen, go to the spot where they wish to operate; and they specially desire this on account of my visit two years ago to Scituate. They further propose to me to meet their citizens in some house of public worship during my visit to Marshfield, for the interchangement of friendly feelings, and that their children may have an opportunity to look upon the man whose name is so closely connected with the honor and prosperity of their country. This is a matter of public business, interesting extensively to the inhabitants of several towns in the Twelfth Congressional District, and which of course forbids my declining the invitation to visit the spot, and, being there, I cannot decently refuse to go with them to the meeting-house. But there is competition between Marshfield and Scituate for the location of the canal. A speech in the meeting-house will be indispensable; and then what town in the district will not be entitled to a visit, a convocation in the meeting-house, and a speech? I told the gentlemen of Milton and Lynn that I could

make no positive engagement, but if I could make an opportunity to lecture for them would do it, and give them seasonable notice.

12th. Mr. Kirkland Lothrop, minister of the Brattle Street Church, was here this afternoon. He spoke of the trial of Alexander McLeod at Utica, in the State of New York, before Judge Gridly, of the Supreme Court of that State, and a jury, for the murder of a man named Durfee, and the burning of the steamboat Caroline, on the night of the 29th and 30th of December, 1837. This trial, which commenced on Monday, the 4th of this month, continued through the last week, and is probably not yet concluded. All the newspapers have been full of reports of the progress of the trial, which involves at once a question of peace and war with Great Britain, and of civil war and the existence of the Union between the General Government and the Government of the State of New York. This is one of the consequences naturally flowing from the Jeffersonian doctrine of nullification and of State rights; and that doctrine had its origin in the root of all evil—slavery. This, in the case of McLeod and the burning of the Caroline, is complicated with the convulsive condition of Canada, the fermenting spirit of insurrection against the British Government in that country, the sympathies and antipathies always existing between the bordering population of rival nations, and the reckless spirit of adventure, avarice, and ambition, burning in the bosoms of multitudes, especially of young men having little or nothing to lose, and, in imagination, everything to gain, by war and confusion. Mr. Lothrop spoke of a letter from Mr. Roebuck to Captain Napier, and of his answer, dated in August last in England, and republished here in the New York Herald. They discuss the question of collision between our General Government and that of the State of New York, whereby the Government of the United States, though admitting the obligation to release McLeod from the time when the British Government avowed the act of burning the Caroline as their own, have yet been disabled from effecting his release by the refusal of the Government of New York to deliver him up, whence, Mr. Lothrop says, Captain Napier gravely concludes that there

must be war, whether McLeod shall be finally released or not. A military conclusion.

15th. We have this day the account that, on the trial of Alexander McLeod at Utica, in the State of New York, for the murder of Durfee, in December, 1837, at the destruction of the steamboat Caroline, the verdict of the jury pronounced him not guilty, and he was immediately discharged. This relieves us from all immediate danger of hostile collision with Great Britain, but leaves the negotiations with that country upon the Maine boundary, the South Sea boundary, the slave-trade, and the seizures of our vessels on the coast of Africa, thorns to be extracted by purer and more skilful hands than are to be found in the Administration of John Tyler.

19th. Mr. Worthington and Mr. McMullen came as a deputation from the Young Men's Association at Albany, to repeat an invitation, more than once heretofore given to me, to deliver a lecture before them. They brought with them commendatory letters from Governor Seward, from Tunis Van Vechten, Mayor of Albany, and from Dr. J. M. Campbell, the clergyman heretofore minister of the Second Presbyterian Church at Washington. My catarrhal cough continues, without any symptom of abatement, but, on the contrary, with evident aggravation. I was, therefore, compelled again to decline this invitation, with a promise that if the cough should leave me, and I find it practicable, I will yet return to Washington by the way of Albany, and deliver the lecture there. I had much political conversation with these two young men, and spoke my mind with more freedom than prudence. The worst consequence of these importunities is their effect upon me as flattery. I am so tickled with professions of veneration that I believe them all sincere. It might be wiser to treat them all with contempt; but it would not be so good-natured.

November 3d. I had received two letters from Governor Seward, of New York, of great civility—one of them inviting me to lodge at his house in Albany. He had sent me copies of his messages to the Legislature, particularly concerning his controversy with the Governors of Virginia. I had sent him a copy of my speech in H. R. U. S. upon the case of McLeod

—in acknowledging the receipt of which he had intimated his dissent from some of the opinions expressed in it. I had now to reply to his kindness, his courtesy, and his dissent, in one letter; and it took me half this day to write it. To reciprocate benevolence without simulating or dissimulating opinion, to maintain perfect sincerity without wounding sensibility, requires so much caution in the use of words and in the expression of sentiment that it takes almost as much time to write such a letter as to compose a dissertation. Voltaire and Jefferson in such cases wrote flattering letters to their correspondents, and letters censorious of the correspondents to others. This is the quintessence of duplicity. There is great danger of falling into this practice. There is no surer test of a double-dealer than to compare letters of opinion with one another.

Boston, 5th.—After breakfast, I called upon Mr. Abbott Lawrence, and had an hour of conversation with him upon the electioneering politics of the day. The Whig party, as they call themselves, is splitting up into a thousand fragments. Mr. Lawrence is struggling to sustain it, and Rufus Choate and Robert C. Winthrop and Leverett Saltonstall are haranguing Whig caucus meetings throughout the State, in vain, to support it. The general expectation is that Marcus Morton will again be elected Governor of the Commonwealth, and that Democracy will ride rough-shod over the whole country. The ambitious politicians are trimming their sails to the breeze. Webster has been spending several weeks at Marshfield, fishing, shooting, ut olim, leaving his son, Fletcher, to act the Secretary of State, and affecting the Stoic to the still-recurring rumors that he is to be discarded or hoisted out of his Department into some foreign mission. He has avoided and evaded all conversation with Mr. Lawrence upon the thorny questions of bank, tariff, and negotiation with England, and Lawrence has lost all confidence in him. Caleb Cushing has taken a lover's-leap over to the Tyler territory, and makes his court (fait sa cour) to the Lady Elizabeth. This, as Burke says, is a curious show, but unsafe to stand upon. The prospects of the country, so far as government is concerned, are dismal; but its prosperity

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continues unabated and increasing. God and nature are still bountiful; but Providence, as if to reserve to itself its supremacy of beneficence and to baffle and disconcert all human exertion to promote its purpose, scattered to the winds of heaven all the plans of improvement in the condition of the country, by clipping the thread of Harrison's life at the very moment when he had been raised to the summit of power, and when all the hopes of a liberal Administration of the National Government were concentrated upon him.

Quincy, 19th.—I received last week a splendidly bound quarto Bible, presented to me, with an address in manuscript fronting the title-page, signed by Cinque, Kinna, and Kale, for the thirty-five Mendian Africans of the Amistad. Mr. Lewis Tappan has been extremely desirous of having this done by a public exhibition and ceremony, which I have repeatedly and inflexibly declined, from a clear conviction of its impropriety, and invincible repugnance to exhibiting myself as a public raree-show; but, as in common civility an answer was due to the present and the address, I wrote one this day to the address, and one, enclosing it, to Mr. Tappan.

Boston, 20th.—I walked out before dinner, and called at the office of Mr. Ellis Gray Loring, with whom I had about an hour's conversation. He is under no small concern from apprehension upon two points at the approaching session of Congress: one, the rule excluding the reception of all petitions, resolutions, and papers relating to slavery; and the other, upon a revived project of annexing Texas to the United States—a project of which formal notice has been given in newspapers devoted to the interests and aspirations of President Tyler. I look forward to both these designs with alarm and anguish—not for the power of the South, which can effect nothing by itself, but from experience of the treachery of the Northern representation, both to Northern interests and principles. I spoke also to Mr. Loring of the letter purporting to be from Thomas Jefferson to Samuel Adams, of which he sent me a copy, and the genuineness of which is very problematical. I asked him if access could be obtained to Samuel Adams's papers. His grandson, Samuel Adams Wells, had issued a prospectus

of a memoir of his life and writings, in six octavo volumes, but could not prevail upon any book-printing establishment to undertake it.

Mr. Loring said he would make enquiries whether among Mr. Adams's papers any trace can be found of a letter from him to Jefferson, to which this purports to be an answer.

I got through the reading of the Parliamentary papers relating to China—a ponderous folio of nearly five hundred pages; and, glancing again over the message from President Van Buren to H. R. U. S. of 25th February, 1840, found in it sundry documents once, twice, and even thrice repeated. They all confirm me in the view taken in my lecture of the issue between Great Britain and China in their present war, which is so adverse to the prevailing prejudices of the time and place that I expect to bring down a storm upon my head worse than that with which I am already afflicted.

22d. Dr. George Parkman called this morning, and found me reading to myself my lecture upon the British and Chinese War. At his request, I read it through to him. It took me upwards of an hour and a half, and, for fear of becoming insufferably tedious to the auditory, I struck out as much as abridged about a quarter of an hour of the delivery. Mr. Felt, who is one of the lecture committee of the Historical Society, came before dinner, and proposed to me to go to the Masonic Temple this evening in a carriage; which I declined. It was then raining, but I thought it would hold up before night. The rain, instead of subsiding, increased after dinner. Mr. Francis C. Gray, another member of the lecture committee, came, and urged me to go with him in a carriage with which he would come for me at ten minutes before seven; to which I consented. He came accordingly, and I went with him and my son—the rain coming down in floods. The Masonic Hall was crowded to overflowing. I delivered the lecture, curtailed as it had been, in one hour and twenty minutes. After I finished, Colonel T. H. Perkins, Mr. Abbott Lawrence, Dr. Francis Parkman, and several others came and greeted me. Mr. Lawrence said that Mrs. Lawrence was so much indisposed with her cold that she had not been able to come out, and wished to

borrow it for the opportunity of reading it; and, accordingly, I put the manuscript into his hands. Mr. F. C. Gray returned with us to my son's house, the rain still falling copiously, and there left us. From my first great anxiety respecting this lecture I am now relieved: it was heard without manifestation of disapprobation; but it runs directly contrary to the strong current of popular opinion in this country, and will be handled without mercy by political antagonists.

WASHINGTON, *December* 3d.—I received this day two letters from Dr. John G. Palfrey, editor of the North American Review, intimating in a very delicate manner his unwillingness to publish in that periodical journal my lecture upon the war between Great Britain and China; and, in a letter to Charles, he proposes to return the manuscript. The excitement of public opinion and feeling by the delivery of this lecture far exceeds any expectation that I had formed; although I did expect that it would be considerable. It is a loud and peremptory admonition of prudence to me in the course that it will behoove me to pursue through the impending session of Congress. Between the obligation to discharge my duty to the country and the obvious impossibility of accomplishing anything for the improvement of its condition by legislation, my deliberate judgment warns me to a systematic adherence to inaction upon all the controverted topics, which cannot fail to be brought into debate. Upon the rule question I cannot be silent, but shall be left alone, as heretofore. I await the opening of the session with great anxiety, more from apprehension of my own imprudence than from a belief that the fortunes of the country will be much affected for good or evil by anything that will be done. There is neither spotless integrity nor consummate ability at the helm of our public ship, and she will be more than ever the sport of winds and waves, drifting between breakers and quicksands. May the wise and good Disposer send her home in safety!

4th. I called this morning at the War Department, and had a long conversation with the new Secretary, John C. Spencer, upon three several and diverse topics. 1. I delivered to him the application of Francis Le Baron, of Plymouth, for a warrant of cadet at the Military Academy at West Point, together with

the recommendations of him addressed to Mr. Spencer himself, and I requested that the youth's name might be entered on the files of the Department as a candidate for admission at the Academy. He enquired if there was a vacancy of the appointment for the district, and I told him there was not—that Wood had entered last June, and that the vacancy was not to be expected before 1845. I also told him of the promise given me by the late Secretary of War, Bell, of a warrant for Derby, next June; of which he took note. 2. I read to him the letter of Major Charles Larrabee to me of 6th November last, and the passage of his pamphlet in which, quoting a paragraph in Andrew Jackson's message of 8th December, 1829, he says it charges me with a crime. It was certainly a base and malignant attack upon my Administration, which, like others from the same quarter, I have treated with silent contempt; but with regard to the charge of an order from the War Department which he said he had revoked as illegal, I had never known what the facts were, and wished now to ascertain them from the records of the Department. Mr. Spencer said he would direct an examination of the records, and cause the results to be communicated to me. 3. I said I had received a letter from Governor Seward, of New York, enclosing a copy of a letter from the Governor to him on the subject of the debts of the States. We had then much discourse upon the State debts, from which I infer that the policy of Mr. Tyler is to have nothing to do with them, and that he is not prepared with any system of measures in relation to them. I have now only to wait for the message.

6th. I rode to the Capitol, and at twelve o'clock, noon, the Speaker, John White, of Kentucky, took the chair, and the roll of members was called over by States. One hundred and eighty-one answered to their names. Henry Dodge was sworn in as delegate from the Wisconsin Territory, and Francis Granger as a member from the district in New York which he formerly represented, and by which he has been re-elected since his short tour of duty as Postmaster-General. The Secretary of the Senate, Asbury Dickins, came, and announced that the Senate were assembled and ready to proceed to business.

William Cost Johnson rose to request the Speaker not to appoint him on the Committee of Public Lands, and, while he was up, offered a resolution to adopt the rules of the Twenty-Sixth Congress pro tempore. I had prepared a resolution to adopt the rules as in force at the close of the Twenty-Sixth Congress, except the twenty-first rule, excluding abolition petitions, and offered it as an amendment to Johnson's. Stanly, in concert with Fillmore, offered, as an amendment to my amendment, a resolution to adopt the rules of the last session for fifteen days, and in the mean time to take up and decide upon the committee's revision of the rules reported on the last day of the last session; and then Stanly called the previous question. I objected that the previous question could not be applied before the adoption of any rules. The Speaker decided that it could, by Parliamentary law and former practice. I appealed from this decision, and called the yeas and nays. His decision was sustained—one hundred and forty-four to seventeen, both parties joining against me to suppress all debate on this subject. Wise had got this discussion suspended to get himself appointed on the committee to notify the President that the two Houses were assembled and ready to receive a communication from him; and he reported that the President would make a communication at noon to-morrow. Stanly's resolutions were rejected—eighty-four to eighty-seven; mine, by precisely the same numbers; and Wise immediately moved to adjourn—which was carried, a quarter-past two.

7th. Immediately after the Speaker took the chair, and the reading of the journal of yesterday, the President's son, and Secretary, delivered his annual message, which was read by the Clerk, Matthew St. Clair Clarke, and took an hour and twenty minutes in the reading. Wise moved the printing of the usual number with the documents, and ten thousand copies extra of the message alone. Samson Mason enquired if the advertisement of the Congressional Globe, added to the printed message in some of the copies distributed by the boys among the members, was included in this motion to print. Wise took this up as an attack upon the President, and a tart colloquy followed between him and Mason; but his motion for printing

was adopted, after being modified to the precedent of the last session. Then W. Cost Johnson's resolution to adopt the rules of the last Congress till the report of the committee of the last session upon the rules shall be acted upon—a modification which he took up at last at the suggestion of Millard Fillmore—was taken up.

The Speaker said that the questions upon Stanly's proposition and mine yesterday had not been taken under the previous question; but Johnson now moved the previous question, and it was carried by one hundred and eight votes, and his resolution was adopted, by yeas and nays—ninety-seven to ninety-five—and the right of petition is again suppressed for the remainder of the present Congress. An order passed for the appointment of the standing committees, and to fix the hour of daily meeting at twelve o'clock, and the House adjourned. Johnson came to my seat to introduce some friend, and joked about his victory for three or four days. But it is for the Congress; and bitterly does it try my temper. Winthrop and Saltonstall have both applied to me and strenuously urged my consent to act again as Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures, to witness the prostration of the whole manufacturing interest by the faction combined of Southern slave-breeders and the Northern Democracy. I despair—at least for my own time. The day of redemption will come, but it is not destined for me.

8th. As the report of the Committee on the Rules was not to be considered till to-morrow, Fillmore asked if the disposal to be made of the President's message was to be taken up. Clifford and the Speaker said the first thing in order was the reception of petitions. Robert L. Caruthers, of Tennessee, then called upon the House to decide upon a question between him and John B. Dawson, of Louisiana, as to the right to the seat occupied at the last session by John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, who, since the close of the session, has resigned. Caruthers stated that before the close of the session he had exchanged seats with Sergeant, and the names upon their respective tables had been transferred. Mr. Dawson, denying the right of a member who resigns to transfer his seat to

another, had, during the recess, erased the name of Caruthers from the table, inserted his own in its place, and now claimed it as his own. Gordon, of New York, moved that the seats should all be numbered, and drawn for to-morrow by lot; rejected. Charles Brown, of Philadelphia, moved a resolution that whenever a member resigns, his seat shall be reserved for his successor; rejected. Stanly moved a resolution that Caruthers is entitled to the seat by the right of exchange and a prevailing usage. Taken, by yeas and nays, and carried—one hundred and twenty-two to fifty-one. I voted against it, because there is no steady rule respecting the right to seats, and no usage sufficiently established and uniform to confer a right. I gave this as my reason to Stanly, who came to my seat to enquire of my motive for voting against his resolution. He thought I felt sore upon the vote adopting the gag-rule excluding petitions. And I do. But the mortification that I feel is not that of mere defeat: it is the disgrace and degradation of my country, trampling in the dust the first principles of human liberty. This is the iron that enters into my soul. Mr. Caleb Cushing came to my seat and said that he wished to have some conversation with me upon business; whereupon I agreed to receive him at my house to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.

9th. Mr. Caleb Cushing came this morning, according to appointment, and said that the Speaker, John White, had expressed to him the wish that he would resign the station of Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations in my favor; that, having occupied that station at the last session, it would have the appearance of personal hostility to him if he should be now removed from it, and he therefore came now to ask my advice what he should do; that the Whigs were a party entirely broken up; that the portion of the Whigs who attended the caucus at the close of the last session, who issued the address against the President, did not exceed fifty; but that there was no Administration party in the House—meaning to intimate that, as a friend of the Administration of John Tyler, he felt bound to adhere to the station of Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations.

I said to him that it was a point upon which I was hardly

competent to give him advice; that I had no desire to be Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and had never, directly or indirectly, intimated such wish to the Speaker; that, after most reluctantly serving ten years as Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures, I had at the last session requested the Speaker not to put me on that committee; he said he would not, and asked me if I had any objection to serving on the Committee of Foreign Relations; I said that should be as he pleased; and the next day he (Cushing) was announced as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and I, of the Committee of Indian Affairs—more odious than that of Manufactures. The House had, at my request, excused me from serving on the Indian Committee, and I had been on no standing committee throughout the session. I should be perfectly satisfied with the same dispensation throughout the present session. As to his being Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, I must in candor say to him that after the rancorous hostility of his feelings against England, not only with reference to the Northeastern Boundary question, but upon numerous other points, on which I believed England more sinned against than sinning, I could not say that I had much confidence in the course of that committee with him at its head. He knew that my advice to Mr. Webster to retain his place last September, when all the other heads of Department resigned, was founded exclusively on the belief that Mr. Webster's signally conciliatory temper and disposition towards England was indispensably necessary to save us from a most disastrous and calamitous war upon that wretched question about the State right of New York to hang McLeod; that most fortunately that stimulant to instant war was removed, but the temper of the two countries was still so embittered and exasperated that it would yet require the most soothing spirit and the coolest blood to preserve the peace between them; that in the differences between Mr. Tyler and the Harrison Cabinet I had taken no part, and had no feeling of hostility to the Administration; but he knew that in advising Mr. Webster to retain his office as Secretary of State I had expressly disclaimed all obligation or intention to defend Mr.

Tyler's treatment of the Cabinet, or his Executive measures during the late session. I added that my personal feelings towards him (Cushing) had invariably been, and still continued to be, altogether friendly; that I had believed him to be uniformly friendly to me (he said it was certainly so); and that so strong and earnest had this feeling been, that, although there were several points of policy of vital importance upon which my opinions differed totally from those expressed by him, I had not on a single occasion manifested that difference in the House, nor sought any discussion with him in private.

He said he regretted that I had not, and that he had not been aware of my differing from him, excepting in what I had *lately* said of the affair of the Caroline. I repeated that I had studiously avoided all altercation with him, from that overruling friendliness of disposition; that he could not but have observed that when he undertook to sanction and adopt the Tariff compromise, and to speak not only for himself but for the whole Commonwealth, Governor Lincoln openly and explicitly declared his dissent from that declaration, and that I said nothing —though I certainly differed from him more widely even than Governor Lincoln.

To all this Mr. Cushing made no explanatory reply, but said he should not mention to the Speaker the substance of our conversation, but should be quiescent, and leave the Speaker to act as he may please. That is, he clings to the chair of the committee, and compels the Speaker to appoint him. So be it.

10th. My conversation yesterday with Caleb Cushing was of a character requiring more detail on the record than the usual space of one day would allow. At the commencement of the last session of Congress, White, the Speaker, intended to place me as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations. He gave me notice of that intention, and the next day appointed Cushing, at the special request of Daniel Webster. Cushing thought that inflammatory declamation against England upon all possible topics was the short cut to popularity, and he speechified accordingly. It appears that Mr. White is now

again disposed to place me upon the Committee of Foreign Relations. I suppose he came yesterday with an expectation that I would authorize him to say to the Speaker that I wished him to be placed again as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, or to ascertain whether I had any concert with the Speaker on this occasion.

At the House, this morning, Stanly told me that Fillmore wanted to get an order for the appointment of select committees, to enable the Speaker to appoint Cushing Chairman of the Committee on the Currency. Fillmore accomplished this purpose, after much snarling debate about what the House should do. The report of the Committee on the Rules was made the special order for yesterday and every day till decided upon; but now W. Cost Johnson moved to lay it on the table; carried, by yeas and nays—ninety-six to eighty-eight. Sundry motions were made to proceed to the choice of a Chaplain; finally rejected, by yeas and nays—one hundred and eight to ninety-five. So of a motion to adjourn. Cave Johnson fretted and Clifford argufied against Fillmore's resolution for the appointment of three select committees, which they insisted was not in order. The Speaker decided that it was. Cave appealed, and the Speaker was sustained—one hundred and thirteen to eighty-one. Stanly moved the previous question. Wise asked him to withdraw it, with a promise to renew it. Stanly declined. The second, by tellers, was one hundred and one to eighty-one. The question upon the select Committee on Finance was carried—one hundred and thirteen to eighty-three—and the two other committees without division. W. Cost Johnson moved a select committee for the establishment of a national foundry; carried. Adjourned at two.

13th. At the House, it was twenty minutes past twelve when the Speaker took the chair. He had been till then hurried and worried in his chamber, making out his committees. When the House was called to order, they were announced. He has appointed on the Committee of Foreign Relations, Adams, Cushing, Everett, W. Cost Johnson, Granger, Gilmer, Hunter, Rhett, Proffit, and on the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest, Adams, Habersham, Truman Smith,

Underwood, Benjamin Randall, Charles J. Ingersoll, Hunter, Houston, and Bowne.

14th. At the House, the Speaker called for petitions, beginning with Maine. I presented between fifty and sixty, almost all anti-slavery and chiefly abolition petitions. More than half of them were excluded by the rule, but a part of several and the whole of others were admissible. Some were, at my motion, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and some to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. I moved the reference of a petition against the gag-rule to a select committee. Meriwether moved to lay the motion on the table; rejected—ninety-two to eighty-seven. Rhett moved a call of the House; one hundred and ninety-two answered. Meriwether then made a point of order, that he meant to debate the reference, and the petition must be laid over one day; and it was so. Many others were laid over in the same way.

15th. At the House, Fillmore, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, moved for leave to the committee to employ a clerk; carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and six to fifty-four. He introduced also the bill making a partial appropriation for the expense of the two Houses and the pay and mileage of the members. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, John Pope in the chair. The bill passed through that and all other stages in less than half an hour, and was sent to the Senate. Then the presentation of petitions was resumed at the State of New York, and went southward through all the States. The Territories were not called. A great number of abolition petitions and remonstrances were presented in very diversified forms—some excluded, some referred to committees, and many laid over for debate. I gave notice personally to all the members of the Committee of Foreign Relations to meet at eleven o'clock to-morrow morning in the chamber of the committee.

16th. At eleven this morning, I attended the first meeting for this session of the Committee of Foreign Relations, in their chamber, adjoining that of the Committee of Manufactures. The members present were Adams, Cushing, Everett, W. Cost Johnson, Granger, Gilmer, Hunter, and Rhett; absent, Mr.

Proffit. I proposed to keep minutes of the meetings, entering the name of each member present at every meeting; which was agreed to; and to hold a regular meeting once a week, on Tuesday mornings at ten o'clock. I read the letter from the Secretary of State, and its three enclosures, respecting the hunters' lodges on the Canadian frontier.

An objection was started that this subject had not been referred by the House to the committee. The Chairman was instructed to move the House to refer to the committee the two messages from the President which had been referred to the committee at the last session and not reported on by them. Adjourned to Tuesday morning.

It was apparent that Everett and Granger were both averse to the revival of the Act of 10th March, 1838, recommended by the President's message of 21st July last, and urged by the letter of the instant from the Secretary of State.

At the House, the call for petitions was completed by the delegates from the three Territories—David Levy, from Florida, Henry Dodge, from Wisconsin, and A. C. Dodge, from Iowa. The question upon the reference of the petitions laid over was then in order; but I consented to its postponement until the House shall have passed on the resolutions offered by Mr. Fillmore, who moved to take them up at once, without going into committee of the whole, and to distribute the several parts of the message at once to the appropriate committees.

Questions of conflicting jurisdictions immediately arose. Wise and Cushing were jealous of the Committee of Ways and Means, and Atherton commenced a dead set against the reference of the tariff to the Committee of Manufactures. Foster and Meriwether, of Georgia, Smith and Wise, of Virginia, followed up the attack. Irwin, of Pennsylvania, made a show of defence. At three, John W. Jones took the floor, and the House adjourned.

17th. At the House, the unfinished business of yesterday came up—Fillmore's resolution to refer so much of the President's message as relates to the tariff to the Committee of Manufactures, with Atherton's proposed amendment to strike

out the Committee of Manufactures and insert the Committee of Ways and Means. Discussed by John W. Jones, of Virginia, Hiram P. Hunt, of New York, Joseph M. Randolph, of New Jersey, Joseph R. Ingersoll, of Philadelphia, and Edward Stanly, of North Carolina, till half-past two, when William Slade, of Vermont, took the floor, and the House adjourned.

I have strong temptation to speak on the pending question, but distrust my own discretion. I fear I should probe this ulcer to the quick, and inflame rather than heal the wound.

18th. This afternoon, Mr. Leavitt called on me, with Mr. Gates, member of the House from the State of New York. They are alarmed at numerous indications of a design to revive the project of annexing Texas to the United States. They said there was a long article in the New York Courier and Enquirer recommending it by arguments addressed first to the abolitionists and then to others; and they asked if anything could now be done to counteract this movement. I know of nothing but to make it as soon and as extensively known as possible. There is apparently in this movement a concert of long standing between Andrew Jackson, Samuel Houston, recently elected for the second time President of Texas, and Santa Anna, now reinstated as President of the Mexican Confederation; and that the project is to be consummated by a cession of Texas from the Mexican to the North American Confederacy. The developments of this project are not yet sufficiently clear and explicit to know how to meet and counteract it.

21st. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Relations at ten this morning. Present, all the members except Caleb Cushing. The first subject taken up was the reference by the House of the parts of the President's annual message relating to the controversy with Great Britain upon the right of search, and to the foreign affairs generally.

Mr. Everett, who has long been a member of the committee, observed that the practice had always been to abstain from all interference with the action of the Executive upon matters pending in negotiation, unless at the instance of the Executive himself. This was precisely the course that I was desirous of pursuing. Mr. Gilmer and the Southern members of the com-

mittee acquiesced in it, and relieved me for the present from the burden of sharp and heavy discussions.

The claims on France prior to 1800 were postponed. Rhett said the Legislature of South Carolina had instructed the members from that State to vote for that claim; but he had no faith in the doctrine of obedience to legislative instructions —though R. M. T. Hunter might have. Hunter answered only by a laugh. At noon, the committee adjourned till next Tuesday.

In the House, the unfinished business—the tariff, the Manufactures, and the Ways and Means—occupied the day. Sollers, Linn, Rayner, W. Butler, of South Carolina, and Meriwether, worried and wearied the House till near three, when T. F. Marshall took the floor, and they adjourned.

22d. At the House, after prayer by Mr. Tustin, several members slipped in petitions, till Weller called for the orders of the day. Cowen gave notice of a long rigmarole bill to modify the recent Bankrupt law; and Briggs gave notice of a bill to reduce postages and abolish the franking privilege. Neither of these was received; but, as Marshall was rising to address the House, Barton, of Virginia, a shallow and hot-headed person, gave notice that he would move an amendment of the thirty-fourth rule, which is that when two members rise to speak at the same time the Speaker shall decide between them. Barton grossly insulted the Speaker for having given the floor yesterday to T. F. Marshall when Barton, it seems, had risen and claimed the floor at the same time; and he said his motion would be to transfer the power in such cases from the Speaker to the House.

Garret Davis called him to order. The Speaker said every member had already a right of appeal from the decision of the Speaker to the House, and Marshall said he had offered to yield the floor to Barton, who declined to take it. Taliaferro afterwards announced that the whole matter had arisen from mutual misunderstanding between Barton and the Speaker, which had been explained and adjusted, and no more was to be said about it.

Marshall made a beautiful speech of an hour and a half in

favor of the manufacturing interest, and Rhett a ranting one against it. Atherton then took the floor, and the House adjourned.

23d. A number of other petitions and resolutions were smuggled in before the order of the day was regularly called, and then Atherton, of New Hampshire, made a crabbed speech—he can make no other—of an hour and a half against the Manufactures, followed by Reynolds, of Illinois, a coarse, vulgar, ignorant, cunning, knavish Democrat, who has been Governor of that State, and is a standing favorite of the Democracy; his buffoonery keeps him afloat. Arnold, of Tennessee, replied to them both, and played at cut-and-thrust with them, somewhat in their own style. Arnold is a bold, honest, warm-hearted and hot-headed Whig, borne down by the weight of Jackson's name and influence in the State, too fair and candid for the slave-breeders, and rather too vehement for the timid and time-serving abolitionists of the North. When he finished, Weller, of Ohio, took the floor, and the House adjourned over to Monday; which Cushing had seized on an unguarded moment of the House to move, and which had been carried, by the Speaker's hardness of hearing to the call for yeas and nays.

24th. Dr. Baldwin came this morning, and took back his protest against the Convention of Indemnities with Mexico, and against all the proceedings of the Joint Commission under it now sitting in this city. The Convention itself and all the proceedings of the Commissioners are of so very extraordinary a character that I cannot resist a strong suspicion that it was intended by the Van Buren Administration not to obtain indemnification for citizens of the United States upon Mexico, but to keep open the sore and breed a war with Mexico, as machinery for the annexation of Texas to the United States. There is not a step in the whole series of transactions which has a tendency to the satisfaction, or even to the adjustment, of the claims. The Convention itself is a mockery, the Commission under it an imposture. I have received two pamphlets—one of charges against the two Mexican Commissioners, Don Joaquin Velasquez de Leon and Don Pedro Fernandez del Castillo, by Orazio de Attellis Santangelo, styling himself

a citizen of the United States, and the other, by the same person, containing a statement of facts presented to the President of the United States, relating to the man's claim on the Government of Mexico. The claim is of a Neapolitan Marquis, turned into a North American Democrat, of damages for having been twice banished from Mexico for setting up periodical journals in that city and preaching party politics.

27th. Mr. Leavitt brought me a New York Evangelist, a newspaper of which he said he was formerly the editor. It contained the protest made at New Orleans of Zephaniah C. Gifford, Acting Master, and of the officers and crew, of the American brig Creole, a slave-trader, bound from Norfolk, Virginia, to New Orleans with a cargo of tobacco and one hundred and thirty-five slaves. On Sunday, the 7th of November, at nine P.M., the cargo mutinied, and, after a fight in which one slave-trader and one mutineer were killed and several others on both sides were wounded, the mutineers prevailed, and compelled the white crew to navigate the vessel into Nassau, New Providence, where nineteen of the self-emancipated cargo were arrested and imprisoned upon charges of mutiny and murder, and the rest were received and landed as free, except five, who refused their freedom and returned to the brig and were landed at New Orleans. This is a remarkable event, and will be followed by momentous consequences.

28th. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. I was there at three minutes past ten by the Muse's clock in the House. I found Cushing already there. Everett and Granger came in within five minutes after. We waited then a full hour, when Proffit came in, and we took up sundry private claims. Those of Mrs. Meade and Alexander Hammet were referred to Mr. Everett and Mr. Rhett, who came in about half-past eleven. A claim of Captain Ridgely was much discussed and vehemently opposed, especially by Rhett, and the decision postponed.

Rhett gave notice that he should, at the next meeting of the committee, move to take up so much of the President's message as relates to the British claim to the right of search of American vessels on the coast of Africa.

At the last meeting of the committee, Rhett being the only member absent, the committee had, without dissenting voice, agreed to take no action upon the President's message unless upon special call from the House on the Executive. Rhett was now very impatient. I requested him to reduce his motion to writing; which he did. I think the majority of the committee will be against his motion; but never was an occasion where I had more need of accurate perception, thorough knowledge, cool and dispassionate judgment, inflexible firmness, intrepid perseverance, imperturbable serenity, and courtesy of deportment than now. That I have eternal right on my side, is certain. Let me never for an instant forget that "He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city." My cause is the peace of my country and the rights of human nature.

In the House, Hudson finished his excellent speech in favor of a protective tariff. He was followed by Payne, of Alabama, Edmund Burke and Ira A. Eastman, both of New Hampshire —all anti-protective. Burke read his speech in so low a tone of voice that he was heard by scarcely any one; but it was retaliatory upon Arnold, and drew a ludicrous parallel between the States of New Hampshire and Tennessee, especially East Tennessee, from which Arnold comes. Eastman is a sprightly speaker, and belabored Arnold with equal venom and more power and effect. He did not finish. The House adjourned about three.

30th. I had finished before breakfast my record of yesterday, and hoped to have time for doing something—that is, writing something—before the time of meeting in the House; but the remnant of hours slipped away in hearing Mr. Smith read in the National Intelligencer the report of yesterday's debate in the Senate on Walter Forward, Secretary of the Treasury's, Board of Exchequer. Buchanan and Calhoun gave it no quarter. Preston, in a tone of subdued nullification, hoped something would be done. Tallmadge and Rives are for modifying it. Benton declared war against it upon its first reading, and Mangum, of North Carolina, this day gave it the "coup de grâce."

Never since the Government has existed was President so totally deserted. It is the same in the House. Yesterday, Millard Fillmore, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, announced that he had that morning received notice that there was a deficit in the Treasury of two hundred and sixty thousand dollars, for which immediate provision must be made or the Treasury must suspend payments. He moved therefore to take up a bill, which he had introduced some days since, extending the loan. No. Eastman insisted upon the floor, and the House could not take up Fillmore's bill. He repeated the effort this day, with no better success. By sitting to-morrow, the House might have made the necessary provision; but a motion was made to adjourn over to Monday, and carried, by yeas and nays—eighty-six to eighty-two; both parties thus uniting to display this utter indifference not only to the credit of the Treasury and the Administration, but to the honor and justice of the country.

Mr. Meriwether had finished his Southern Whig, moderate, candid, anti-tariff and anti-manufacturing speech, and had been admirably answered by Robert C. Winthrop, whose promise as an orator and debater in the House is of the highest order. W. Cost Johnson took the floor, and the House adjourned at three.

31st. I called at the Department of State, and had a three hours' conversation with the Secretary upon Foreign Affairs. I received at the Department a session pamphlet-copy of the Acts of Congress at each of the last three sessions. Upon the state of the Canadian frontier he gave me some information, and expressed a strong desire for the revival of the Act of 10th March, 1838. The calls of the House for documents respecting our relations with Hayti and for the aggregates of the Census have not yet been, but will be, answered. There is no regular communication of the Department with China. The Consul, Snow, is in this country. A man named Delano sometimes writes from Macao. No late information from thence. None from Mexico. They know not even how Santa Anna comes to be at the head of the Government there—nor what to do with the Commission of Indemnity, now sitting

here under the Convention of 11th April, 1839. I enquired if Andrew Stevenson had ever informed the Department of his letters to Commodore Hull in March last, advising him to run away and make the best of his way home, to escape from the clutches of the British lion. He did in June last communicate copies of those letters, written in March. But the President thought it best not to communicate to Congress that portion of Mr. Stevenson's diplomatic achievements. Mr. Webster himself thought that the other part of the negotiations might have been permitted to slumber in the same oblivion. He considered Stevenson as having surrendered the question at issue on the right of search, by assuming untenable ground against it. This was my own opinion. He remarked on the extraordinary circumstances of the correspondence between Stevenson and Lord Palmerston, when they were in substance both out of office and under no responsibility—the term of Stevenson's mission having actually expired, and the Ministry of which Palmerston was a member having been dismissed, while the correspondence was in progress. Mr. Webster says that the Secretary of the Navy, Upshur, is a very considerable man, and utterly disapproves Stevenson's pretensions about the right of search. After full and free conversation, I found every particle of opinion avowed by Mr. Webster on this controversy about the right of search perfectly concurring with my own. I told him that my own disposition with regard to all questions in negotiation with Great Britain was essentially pacific, and especially averse to everything irritating in form or offensive in language, and against everything of war tendency, excepting the Boundary question, and upon that we should be inflexible. To this he made no reply. I meant to give him fair warning, and then added that my most earnest desire as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs was to move in perfect harmony with the Executive Administration and to give to its measures my cordial support. He received this overture with cold-hearted thanks. But the great difficulties of Mr. Webster are not with the Foreign Affairs, nor with anything in that Department. Money, public and private, is the insuperable obstacle to his successful progress, and will

finally, at no distant day, turn him out upon the world, and prove the ruin of this Administration, as it did of the last.

January 1st, 1842.—This was the thirtieth New Year's day that, in the course of my life, I have passed at the city of Washington, and the twenty-fifth in succession, and, of the physical atmosphere, was, without exception, the finest of those days. One of the consequences of which was, that the President's house was thronged with visitors beyond all former example—so thronged, as we heard from many of those that were there, that the crowd in the house was so great that, to avert the danger of suffocation, the porter at the outer door was obliged to lock out hundreds who were rushing to it for admission, and that among the excluded were both the Generals Scott and Gaines. I say visitors to the house; for it is the house, and not the President, who is visited. From the first establishment of the Government of the United States to this day, there never has been a time when the personal sympathies of the people of all parties were so utterly indifferent as they are this day to John Tyler.

Our own visitors this day were not less than five hundred, more than double the number we have ever had before—great numbers of members of Congress, with their wives and children; but scarcely one of them other than of the Whig party. Generals Scott and Gaines were here at the same time—the latter with his wife; and he said to me that he came to see the only President of the United States that he ever saw. I said that was too much, and a compliment that I could not accept. He said there had been other Presidents of the United States—two or three—but he had never seen either of them; the rest had all been Presidents not of the United States, but of a party. Gaines is sore at the appointment of Scott as the Major-General.

Mrs. Parker, wife of the Chinese doctor, was here, and told me that her husband concurred perfectly with me in all the opinions of my lecture on the Chinese War. When the stream of visitors ceased, I went and visited Mrs. Madison.

2d. At the Second Presbyterian Church, Mr. Clark preached

from Job xxx. 23: "For I know that thou wilt bring me to death, and to the house appointed for all living." A discourse upon death—always appropriate, specially suited to the commencement of the year, and at every return of the day more impressive to all who, like me, have long passed through the turnpike gate of threescore and ten, and am already coming to the half-way between that and fourscore. It is one of the imperfections of my nature that I do not realize as I ought the certain approach of death by a diligent and faithful improvement of the still diminishing sands of the glass. Mr. Clark's address to the aged part of his auditory was earnest and solemn; but how often have I said to myself all, and more than all, that he said to me! The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak—oh, how weak! how impotent!

3d. At the House, William Cost Johnson came out with a hard-studied, Southern Whig, Jesuitical, slave-breeder speech of an hour and a half for the reference of the tariff question to the Committee of Ways and Means—the completest specimen of his trickish propensities that I had ever heard. Almost all his talent consists of trickery.

This time his cunning device was discomfited. As soon as he finished, John C. Clark moved the previous question, after a short preamble, and after withdrawing it for a few minutes to allow Lewis Williams to give in brief his reasons for voting for it. The question of seconding the call was, after a call of the House, carried by tellers—eighty-eight to eighty-eight; decided by the casting vote of the Speaker. On the question, "Shall the main question be now put?" the vote, by yeas and nays, was one hundred and one to ninety-seven. Cave Johnson moved to adjourn, but on call for the yeas and nays withdrew the motion. Fernando Wood, of New York, moved to adjourn, and, after eight or ten, all nays, were called, was permitted by general consent to withdraw his motion. A crafty modification of Fillmore's motion of reference to the Committee of Manufactures, moved by Samson Mason, was accepted by Fillmore. Rhett withdrew his proposed amendment. The yeas and nays on Atherton's amendment, to strike out the Manufactures and insert the Ways and Means, were ninety-five

to one hundred and four—the Loco-foco Democracy of the North and West voting with the slave-breeding South, but the whole vote of Pennsylvania, without exception, being for the Manufactures.

The report from the Secretary of the Treasury in answer to Cushing's call relating to the Coast Survey was then communicated by the Speaker to the House. I moved the printing of the same number of extra copies for Mr. Hassler as were given him on a former occasion; but Cushing and Cave Johnson cavilled off the question till to-morrow. Motions to adjourn.

I entreated the House to pass the residue of Fillmore's resolutions, distributing the President's message among the committees—which they did, and one additional, moved by Cooper, of the Indian Affairs. It was three o'clock; but Clio had stopped at two.

4th. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Gilmer, Hunter, Everett, Proffit, W. C. Johnson, and Granger; absent, Rhett, who had given notice that he would call up for consideration so much of the President's message as relates to the claim of the British Government to the right of searching American vessels on the coast of Africa. He has probably been better advised since the last meeting of the committee.

Cushing was instructed to report to the House two bills reciprocating the suspension of discriminating tonnage duties on certain Spanish vessels and on vessels from Cayenne.

I presented for consideration the message of 19th July, 1841, and the letter and documents from the Secretary of State urging the re-enactment of the law of 10th March, 1838, to secure the peace of the Canada frontier. I mentioned the interview I had had with the Secretary of State on the subject, and the earnest wish expressed by him, and felt, as he assured me, by the President, for the revival of the Act; but there was a repugnance apparently unanimous in the committee against it. After full discussion, it was postponed.

In the House, the question of reference to a select committee of the petitions and remonstrances against the gag-rule came up, but, by the shameless prevarications of the Speaker and of

about twenty members of the Northern Democracy, it was laid on the table, which on the 14th of December had been refused by yeas and nays—eighty-seven to ninety-two. The baseness of these proceedings is too severe a trial of my temper. Oh for restraining grace, for inflexible firmness, for untiring perseverance, for suavity of manner, and for self-control!

.The first vote now was declared—one hundred and fifteen to eighty-four—for laying on the table. I insisted on the taking the question upon each separate petition. The second vote to lay on the table was one hundred and three to eighty-seven. Roosevelt did not vote. Stanly moved that, according to the rule, he should be compelled to vote, and put him to shame. The Speaker said the rule required him to vote; but Stanly said he would not press the matter, and he did not vote. But Stanly called the yeas and nays again on the next petition, and Roosevelt then voted in the affirmative; the vote then was one hundred and seven to eighty-three. The question was then taken separately, but without yeas and nays, upon five or six other petitions—when Arnold started up and moved a reconsideration of the vote yesterday to refer the tariff part of the message to the Committee on Manufactures, and began a speech against Burke, of New Hampshire. He was soon called to order, and a most disorderly debate on order ensued, cut short only by a motion of Preston, of Virginia, to adjourn; which was carried. Walking home, I met Mr. Rives, the Senator from Virginia, and Chairman of the Senate's Committee of Foreign Affairs, who walked home with me.

5th. Morning visit from Mr. Ruggles, one of the Canal Commissioners of the State of New York. He comes here now in connection with a plan concerning which I received some time since a letter from Governor Seward, by which the General Government may relieve the States from the burden of their debts incurred by undertakings of internal improvement, by purchasing a perpetual right of free passage over all the railroads in the United States for the mails and for military purposes. Long and free conversation with Mr. Ruggles, disclosing my apprehensions that this measure cannot be carried through as of any efficiency to relieve the States, and that no measure

devised by the present Administration will restore the level of exchanges, the stability of the currency, or the sufficiency of the revenue for the expenditures. I said that increased taxation by impost, the assumption of the State debts, and a national bank on the old platform were the three measures indispensable for the payment of the public debt, the restoration of public credit, and the punctual payment of the expenses of the Government. Neither of these measures will be adopted by the General Government, and the present President is following the path of his two immediate predecessors—downward to universal bankruptcy.

At the House, after the reading of the journal, I moved that it should be amended by striking out the instructions which I had proposed on the 14th of December to give the select committee which I then moved to raise, but which instructions the Speaker had then decided to be not in order, and I had withdrawn them. This motion raised a debate of an hour and a half, in which I proved beyond all question the falsification of the journal and the prevarications of the Speaker; but Meriwether finally moved to lay my motion to amend the journal on the table, and carried it, by yeas and nays—ninety-nine to seventy-eight.

Then came up Bowne's appeal from the Speaker's decision allowing Arnold to speak in violation of the rules, in reply to Burke and Eastman. After much debate, the yeas and nays being called, I rose at the call of my name, and was assigning my reasons for not sustaining the decision of the Speaker, when he called me to order, the appeal not being debatable, though he had in the hurry of yesterday decided otherwise. I voted against his decision, which was reversed—sixty-seven to eighty-nine. Arnold said to me, "Et tu, Brute," and, after some struggling, withdrew his motion for reconsideration, and the House adjourned.

6th. Mr. Espy, the storm-breeder, who had notified me at Boston that he would be here at the beginning of the year, punctual to his time, appeared yesterday at the House, and requested me to fix a time for an interview. I appointed nine o'clock this morning. He left with me a paper exposing his

three wishes of appropriations by Congress for his benefit—about as rational as those of Hans Carvel and his wife. The man is methodically monomaniac, and the dimensions of his organ of self-esteem have been swollen to the size of a goitre by a report from a committee of the National Institute of France, endorsing all his crack-brained discoveries in meteorology. I told him, with all possible civility, that it would be of no use to memorialize the House of Representatives in behalf of his three wishes. He said he had thoughts of addressing the Senate, and asked, if they should pass a bill in his favor, whether I would support it in the House. I said if the Senate should pass such a bill I would do all that I could for him in the House.

There was an attempt in the House this morning to introduce petitions, but the Speaker declared the thirty days expired. A motion was made to suspend the rules by Dean, of Ohio, for him to present a petition, modified, at the request of Goggin, for the reception of petitions generally. The motion just failed—one hundred to fifty-two.

The committees were called for reports. Saltonstall, from the Committee of Manufactures, reported a resolution to authorize that committee to take testimony respecting the tariff and its operations upon the interests of the country. This started at once the tariff question, with all its inflammatory matter. It was debated an hour and a half, till Fillmore called for the orders of the day—that is, the bill to authorize the issuing of Treasury notes—which started again in substance the same debate. Wise moved an amendment to repeal the distributing sections of the last session's Land bill. McKeon had given notice yesterday that he should move the same thing, and now claimed his thunder; but Wise would not yield it. He made a second furious anti-protection speech. Fillmore implored Wise to withdraw his amendment; but he refused. The debate soon became entangled, and Weller moved the committee to rise; which was carried—eighty-three to sixty-four.

The report from the State Department to the call for the Census aggregates was received, and referred to the Apportionment Committee to determine whether it shall be printed.

7th. At the House, after the surreptitious creeping in of several petitions and resolutions, by connivance of the Speaker with particular members, till some one calls for the orders of the day, Payne, of Alabama, presented a petition, to the reception of which I objected. He moved the suspension of the rules. I said if he would move it for the general call of the States for petitions I would vote for it. Others urged him to the same, and he modified his motion accordingly, which was carried—one hundred and ten to forty-two. Giddings enquired if the unsettled question raised by W. Cost Johnson upon an abolition petition laid over on the 14th of last month would not now first come up.

The Speaker said, no; all the rules were now suspended, and he must begin the call at the Territory of Iowa, and proceed northward.

When it came to the turn of Ohio, Giddings presented a succession of petitions, upon which Wise, and W. Cost Johnson, and Campbell, of South Carolina, raised the question of reception, and then moved to lay the question of reception on the table; and when they could not make the question of reception, they moved to lay the petition on the table; and in every case the motion to lay on the table was carried, the Northern Democracy dropping in one by one into the ranks of the slave-breeders. Bowne, and Gordon, of New York, were thus whipped in this day, as Roosevelt had been by Stanly two days ago.

Upon one of the questions started by Campbell, a question upon the reception of a petition which the Speaker had decided to be receivable, and then a motion to lay on the table his own question of reception, I refused to vote, and, after Bowne and Gordon had been disciplined, Wise called on the Speaker to apply the same screw to me. The Speaker did not hear him. Mathiot repeated the demand. Stanly moved to postpone that question to the first Monday in December, for they had tried me upon that question before, and they would get nothing by trying it again. So the call for petitions proceeded till they came to Kentucky, when, on a petition for the repeal of the Bankrupt law, debate lowered, and the House adjourned.

8th. At the House, the suspension of the rules for the purpose of receiving petitions for the whole day was occupied in prescribing the Bankrupt law's repeal. Garret Davis had yesterday presented a petition from Kentucky for its repeal, and Cravens, of Indiana, had moved its reference to the Committee on the Judiciary, with instructions to report a repealing bill. This was somewhat startling, and brought up a snarl, in the midst of which the House adjourned.

This day various expedients were tried to get rid of the instructions—but in vain. The yeas and nays were taken times without number, besides a call of the House, which consumed an hour. All would not avail. The reference with the instructions was carried—one hundred and twelve to eighty-eight—immediately after which, Thomas F. Marshall presented a petition from Louisville, which he said was nine feet long, and moved its reference to the Judiciary Committee, with instructions to report the repealing Act forthwith. This word was peculiarly obnoxious to the Whigs, because it was used in the instructions to the Committee of Elections in the last Congress to report on the New Jersey case. In courtesy to this Whig scruple, Marshall dropped his word forthwith, first for Monday, and then for Tuesday next—which was carried.

The whole of this process was accomplished by the coalition of Clay, Tyler, and mock-Democracy votes, and is the first symptom of a new party combination against Northern interests. Its first object is the prostration, ruin, and dismissal of Webster. As soon as the vote was completed, Gentry, of Tennessee, moved a reconsideration, to prevent its being made by any one else, and the repeal of the Bankrupt Act was clenched. Campbell, of South Carolina, then observed that it was the 8th of January, and moved an adjournment—which was carried.

10th. This was, by the rules, the second bi-weekly day for the presentation of resolutions; but the rules have been four days suspended for the reception of petitions. This was the unfinished business of this morning; but Mr. Fillmore, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, with grievous lamentations over the bankruptcy and beggary of the Treasury, moved again to suspend the rules to go into committee of the

whole upon the state of the Union, to take up the bill to authorize the issue of Treasury notes; and this motion was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and forty-five to forty-four.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Hopkins in the chair. Wise withdrew the amendment that he had offered, of a second section, repealing the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands. But it was then moved by Weller, of Ohio. The Chairman decided that it was not in order; and Weller appealed. After a debate of an hour or more, the question was taken, by tellers, and the Chairman's decision was sustained. Cooper, of Pennsylvania, then opened a battery against the bill itself, the issue of Treasury notes. He poured down a shower of sarcasms upon Tyler's courtship of the damsel Loco-focoism, which brought up Wise in passionate flat contradiction, and Proffit in a foolish rhodomontade of Tyler's appeal to the people. Poor Proffit was crucified by Thomas F. Marshall, who last week took the temperance pledge, and this day, perfectly sober, made the most splendid and powerful speech of the session. Underwood then took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned. I notified the members of the committee on the Smithsonian bequest to meet Wednesday morning.

11th. Committee of Foreign Relations. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger—these four punctual to the time; Rhett at half-past ten; Gilmer at eleven. Absent, Hunter, W. Cost Johnson, and Proffit. Rhett produced his resolution of enquiry to ascertain what instructions have been given to the new Minister in England upon the question relative to the search by British cruisers of American merchant-vessels on the coast of Africa. After some discussion upon taking the vote, Gilmer and Cushing voted for the resolution, Everett and Granger against it. Rhett said that, having offered the resolution, he declined voting upon it. If he had voted for it and I had voted against it, he would still have failed. I voted for it, willing to indulge him, although perceiving the insidious object of the enquiry, and trusting quite as much as they deserved his professions of not wishing to interfere with the negotiations of the Executive. I hold it just and politic to

leave the initiative of debate in the House on this subject to the slave-holders.

There was some conversation upon the report prepared by Mr. Everett on the claim of Margaret Meade, which he had lent me and I had read. I did not concur in its conclusions, and noticed parts of the report from which I dissented. Mr. Everett defended them. No decision.

At the House, after a claim by Thomas F. Marshall of preference for the order to the Committee on the Judiciary to report this day a bill to repeal the Bankrupt Act, and some confused discussion, the Speaker decided against it—that the first order of the day was to receive petitions. Marshall appealed, and called the previous question. The decision of the Speaker was sustained, by yeas and nays—one hundred and seventeen to eighty-four. Then Fillmore moved a suspension of the rules, to take up the Treasury Note bill; carried—one hundred and fifty-one to fifty-three; and then—one hundred and six to one hundred and three—to take up the bill. Underwood made his speech, and offered his amendment. Gamble and Fessenden made speeches in favor of the bill, and Dean, of Ohio, a furious one against it, and against the Whig party, so ludicrous that he went on for at least an hour amid continual shouts of laughter. John G. Floyd followed on the same side; but, after several abortive motions to adjourn, and to call, the House adjourned about four, by yeas and nays—sixty-two to fifty-four.

12th. I was obliged to go to attend at eleven the first meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest, in the chamber of the Committee of Foreign Relations. Present, Adams, Habersham, Truman Smith, Underwood, Benjamin Randall, and Charles J. Ingersoll; absent, Hunter, Houston, and Bowne, the last of whom I had not been able personally to notify, he having been yesterday and the day before detained from the House by indisposition. I read the commission of the members, the reference to the committee of the part of the President's message relating to the Smithsonian Fund, and that part of the message itself. After much desultory conversation, the committee agreed to meet next Wednesday morning at ten o'clock.

At the House, Fillmore moved a suspension of the rules to offer a resolution to take the Treasury Note bill out of committee at two to-morrow afternoon. Much disorderly debate; yeas and nays—one hundred and nineteen to sixty-five; not two-thirds. Fillmore moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union; yeas and nays—one hundred and five to ninety-two. Hopkins in the chair. John G. Floyd, a County Court lawyer from Utica, New York, finished the speech he had begun yesterday against the bill, or rather against the Whig party; he said he would take not more than twenty minutes, and took forty—all sheer growling against the Whigs. He was followed by Arnold, of Tennessee, nearly three hours without check, control, or interruption—a general retaliation upon the modern Democracy for all their ribaldry against the Whigs; but his declamation was intermingled with much lofty sentiment and solid argument. After he finished, the House fell again into confusion. Fillmore moved again to suspend the rules for his resolution, and failed again for want of two-thirds. The committee refused to rise, and then rose. Joseph R. Ingersoll took the floor, and, after sundry frivolous and dilatory movements, the House adjourned, about a quarter-before five.

13th. I called this morning at the Department of State with a letter communicating to him (the Secretary) the resolution of the committee directing their Chairman to ascertain whether any new correspondence or instructions have occurred since the President's annual message relating to the search by British cruisers of American vessels on the coast of Africa.

He read the letter, and said nothing.

I enquired whether the report on the call of the House last winter for documents concerning our relations with the republic of Hayti was to be expected soon.

He said it was in a course of preparation.

I told him I should probably move a call for Stevenson's letter to Commodore Hull, and also on the Navy Department for the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry and Court-martial for the recent trial of Captain Bolton.

He said nothing.

I observed that the state of our affairs generally seemed unpleasant, and that there was every prospect of the repeal of the Bankrupt law.

He made no reply.

I said, difficulties seemed to multiply upon us.

"Yes," said he, "difficulties on all sides." He was evidently absorbed in deep agitation of mind.

Mr. Forward, the Secretary of the Treasury, came in just at this moment, with Mr. Daniel Raymond, and I left them.

At the House, committee of the whole on the state of the Union on the Treasury Note bill, Hopkins in the chair. The two brothers Ingersoll made long speeches on the two sides of the question—which was further most tediously debated till near seven in the evening. The bill was then at last reported, with two or three amendments, to the House, and Fillmore immediately moved the previous question; but, without taking it, the House adjourned, and I walked home. The last speakers against the bill were Thompson, of Mississippi, and Gordon, of Delhi, New York. Thompson boggled a defence of the State of Mississippi for repudiating, or, in other words, refusing to pay the part of her debt which, he said, she had never contracted.

14th. I called this morning at the Department of the Treasury, and requested of the Secretary a statement of the present condition of the Smithsonian Fund, and copies of the State bonds in which it has been invested, for the information of the committee to which the subject has been referred by the House. I enquired also when the report upon the debts of the States, called for by resolution of the House, might be expected.

He said he had written to the Governors of the several States, and had received answers from some and not from others. The answers from the heaviest States were received; and he directed the Chief Clerk, McClintock Young, to write again to the States whence there are as yet no answers.

At the House, the previous question had been moved last night by Fillmore upon the Treasury Note bill. It was now seconded, and taken. The amendments moved by Arnold, Everett, and Underwood were rejected. That moved by T.

W. Gilmer was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and five to one hundred and two. The bill was then passed without yeas and nays to the third reading; whereupon Romulus M. Saunders enquired of the Speaker whether the previous question of the passage to the third reading was not spent.

The Speaker said it was; upon which Underwood moved to recommit the bill, with instructions to report a suspension of the Land Distribution bill, and the application of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands to the redemption of the Treasury note bills. Fillmore moved the previous question—which cut off Saunders's motion; and it was carried. The bill was then passed, by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty-nine to eighty-six—with the party vote on both sides splintered as I have seen an oak of the forest by a thunderbolt.

Giddings, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, now entreated the House to take up private business according to the rules; but the House adhered to the suspension of the rules, and the call of the States for the reception of petitions, arrested at Kentucky. Pendleton, of Ohio, requested permission out of his turn to present two remonstrances from Cincinnati against the repeal of the Bankrupt law. I claimed the same privilege, as did several other members—without success. Giddings's motion to postpone the reception of petitions and take up private business was rejected, by yeas and nays—eighty-nine to one hundred and seventeen.

On the call for petitions, John B. Thompson presented sundry resolutions of the Legislature of Kentucky, quite belligerent against Mexico, concerning a recent expedition from Texas to Santa Fe, which has fallen into the hands of the Mexicans and been somewhat roughly treated. In this expedition a son of Leslie Coombs, of Kentucky, a mere youth of seventeen, was an adventurer; and the resolutions of the Legislature of Kentucky declare that protection is due to all and every the humblest citizen of the Republic, whether at home or abroad. There are four resolutions, with a preamble—all of the same stamp. Thompson moved their reference to the Committee of Foreign Relations, and that they be printed; which was ordered. Then Thomas F. Marshall offered the same set of resolutions,

and moved their reference to the Committee of Foreign Relations, with instructions to collect and report to the House information respecting the Texan expedition to Santa Fe. Fernando Wood, of New York, moved to add the same instructions to the committee respecting the American prisoners in Van Diemen's Land. Everett suggested that the information should be obtained not by instructions to the committee, but by a call upon the Executive. Marshall modified his resolution accordingly, and Wood his amendment, and they were adopted, Linn, of Schenectady, New York, having declared his intention to debate the question about the Van Diemen's Land prisoners, but finally withdrawing his objection.

The Speaker presented a petition from Richmond County, Kentucky. Briggs moved its reference to the Judiciary Committee, with instructions to report a bill to amend the Bankrupt Act of the last session by including money corporations within its provisions.

Long debate, and puzzle whether these instructions would interfere with those already given to the committee to report a bill of repeal. Cave Johnson moves to lay the petition, reference, and instructions all on the table; and, after some time spent in wriggling round the question, as usual in such cases, it was taken, by yeas and nays, and, by a vote of one hundred to one hundred and one, decided not to be laid upon the table.

The question came back upon Briggs's motion of reference, with instructions, which Briggs modified at the request of Clifford, of Maine, who, after thus taking him in, voted against his resolution. Gentry moved an adjournment at half-past three; which was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and one to eighty-eight.

15th. At half-past ten this morning I attended a small meeting which I had proposed to Seth M. Gates, of Le Roy, New York, and to Joshua Giddings, of Jefferson, Ashtabula County, Ohio, to hold, with a view to some concert of action among the friends to the right of petition. The meeting was in the room of the Committee of Commerce, and the members who attended, besides Giddings and Gates, were David Bronson, of

Anson, Maine, William B. Calhoun, of Springfield, Massachusetts, William Slade, of Middlebury, Addison County, Vermont, Daniel D. Barnard, of Albany, New York, Francis Granger, of Canandaigua, Ontario County, New York, Joseph Lawrence, of Washington, Pennsylvania, Thomas C. Chittenden, of Adams, Jefferson County, New York, Archibald L. Linn, of Schenectady, New York, and Sherlock J. Andrews, of Cleveland, Ohio—twelve. Besides these, Gates and Giddings had invited Winthrop, Burnell, Brockway, Fillmore, Ridgeway, and Cooper, who promised to attend and did not. This indicates the lukewarmness of the most determined friends to the right of petition in the House, the palsy upon the nerves of freedom throughout the free portion of the Union, and the hopelessness of any effort of mine to restore to the people the right of petition, now smothered in both Houses of Congress.

With the members present a mere desultory conversation was held, commenced by me, stating my reasons for proposing the meeting, and my purpose of convoking hereafter a meeting of all the members opposed to the suppression of the right of petition, with a view to concerted action for the restoration of the right. The members present were generally well disposed; but the time was consumed in general conversation, without specific proposition. We all agreed to meet again next Saturday morning at the same time and place.

In the House, the whole day was consumed in a struggle, finally successful, to force in from the Committee on the Judiciary a bill to repeal the Bankrupt Act of the last session. This was effected by the reunion of all the slave-holding interests with the Democracy of the free States—the same combination with the Compromise of 1833. The bill was read, and the Democracy were ferocious for driving it through; but the Kentuckians relented for one moment. Garret Davis moved the adjournment, and it was carried, by yeas and nays—

to .

The new coalition is thus consummated. Clay, Calhoun, Tyler, and Van Buren, upon their Maelzel chess-board, have checkmated the North and the free, leaving the division of the spoils between the matadores to be settled hereafter. The

joke is that Clay and Tyler protest as gravely and indignantly against this movement as if they were sincere.

17th. Mr. Radcliff came this morning and communicated to me the steps that he has taken here in pursuance of his commission as Confidential Agent of the new State of the Isthmus. He presented his commission to Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, and left it with him, and on the 31st of last month he addressed to him a memorial claiming the recognition by the Government of the United States of the Isthmus as an independent State, and setting forth the grounds and circumstances of this claim, together with a note of the special objects desired for adjustment of intercourse between the Isthmus and this country. Mr. Radcliff left with me copies of these papers for my perusal, and had a long conversation with me upon the course that it may be proper for him to pursue in execution of his commission. His memoir is well written, and sets in a clear light the actual position of the Isthmus and the force of its claims to recognition. He said that the President and Mr. Webster both admitted the high importance of the subject, but Mr. Webster said perhaps before the formal recognition it might be thought necessary to send a confidential Agent to the Isthmus to make report of its present condition, as had been done in the case of Texas. Mr. Radcliff will soon call again.

Mr. Rhind came with Mr. Hawley, an old friend of his, and told me he had a claim upon this Government, which would come before the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Rhind was Andrew Jackson's Plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty with the Sublime Porte. What his claim is he did not explain.

At the House, the whole day was again consumed in driving through the bill to repeal the Bankrupt law of the last session; which was finally accomplished, by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty-six to ninety-four. The process was harsh, precipitous, and unrelenting—led on wholly by the Kentucky Clay men. Granger alone succeeded, amidst the continual motions for the previous question, to crowd in a short speech against the bill. Roosevelt made an attempt to present petitions for and against the repeal, but was frustrated by the rude and arbitrary violence of the Speaker. I demanded that

Roosevelt's point of order should be reduced to writing. He refused. I therefore refused to vote on the question. Meriwether moved I should be compelled to vote, but was not seconded; and I thanked him. Adjourned about five.

18th. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Relations at ten. Present, Adams, Everett, Granger, Gilmer, Hunter, Cushing, and Proffit; absent, W. Cost Johnson and Rhett, who came in after the committee had adjourned. The answer of the Secretary of State to Rhett's resolution of enquiry was read relating to the visitation and search question. The answer is that no additional correspondence has been received, and no instructions yet given to Mr. Edward Everett, but that there will be soon. When Rhett came in, I read the answer to him; and he said it was satisfactory. No other business of moment was considered.

At the House, the day was occupied in calling the States for petitions. The progress made was northward from Kentucky to New York. The delay was chiefly caused by the presentation of petitions, abolition, anti-slavery, and for and against the repeal of the Bankrupt law. After much desultory discussion, these last were all referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. The abolition petitions which came within the gag-rule were all quietly excluded; and every anti-slavery petition which could not be disposed of thus, when presented, Wise, Hopkins, and Campbell, of South Carolina, interchangeably moved the question of reception, and then moved to lay that question of reception on the table. The yeas and nays were taken several times, and the vote to lay on the table always prevailed.

At last Granger presented a petition praying Congress to secure by law to the free citizens of the United States the benefits of the Post-Office. The question of reception and the motion to lay on the table followed, and Granger called for the yeas and nays. This question brought the practice of excluding petitions one step beyond all former precedent, and Mallory, of Virginia, moved to adjourn, though it was but just after three o'clock. The adjournment was carried by tellers. Joseph R. Ingersoll succeeded in getting sundry petitions against the repeal of the Bankrupt Act referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, with instructions to enquire into the expediency

of reporting a Bankrupt bill free from the defects and supplying the deficiencies of the one just repealed. Sundry other resolutions were offered, but objected against, and not received. Mr. Augustus Young, a member of the House from Vermont, and Mr. Whitcomb, now a clerk in the Treasury Department, spent the evening with me in general conversation upon political subjects. Mr. Young feels deeply the degradation of the free and especially the eastern portion of the Union, by subserviency to the insolent domination of the Southern slave-traders and slave-breeders; but he sees and I see no prospect of breaking the yoke in my lifetime.

19th. Meeting of the select committee on the Smithsonian bequest, in the chamber of the Committee of Foreign Relations. Present, Adams, Habersham, Underwood, Randall, C. J. Ingersoll, Houston, and Bowne; absent, Truman Smith, and Hunter. I had found in the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures the book containing the minutes of the proceedings of the former committees on this subject, the last entry upon which was of 15th January, 1840. My report of that committee, with an amended bill to incorporate the trustees of the fund, was made on the 5th of March, 1840, since which nothing has been done by Congress concerning it. The bill No. 1 of the House bills remained on the calendar through the whole remainder of the Twenty-Sixth Congress's first and second sessions, and was never reached in the ordinary business of the House. There was no committee appointed at the second session, none at the late special session, first of the Twenty-Seventh Congress, and in the mean time the funds invested in bonds of the State of Arkansas have depreciated at least fifty per cent. I now stated to the committee that I had called upon the Secretary of the Treasury for a statement of the present condition of the fund, which he had promised but had not yet furnished me. I recapitulated again the proceedings of the former committees, and gave copies of my last report to those members of the committee who desired them.

Habersham presented a letter from James F. Espy, proposing that a portion of the fund should be appropriated for simultaneous meteorological observations all over the Union, with him

for central national meteorologist, stationed at Washington with a comfortable salary.

20th. At the House, the presentation of petitions under the suspended rules was resumed, the Speaker having previously presented sundry Executive communications. Botts enquired of Cushing, Chairman of the Currency Committee, whether a report from them was to be expected soon. Cushing answered that he was ready to report whenever the committee should instruct him; that they had met twice a week, and this week three times. Botts said he was glad to hear it, for he had been told that the committee would not report at all. At the adjournment yesterday, Wise had raised the question of reception, and then the motion to lay that question on the table, upon a petition presented yesterday by Granger, from Hopewell, Ontario County, New York, praying for protection in their constitutional right to the use of the Post-Office, and adequate security for their persons in all the States of the Union. Wise said that his motive for making the motion was that he considered the prayer of the petition to be for the circulation of incendiary pamphlets and the protection of incendiary persons. The motion to lay on the table was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and one to seventy-four; and the same fate befell many other anti-slavery petitions, including resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Vermont, presented by Slade. The call for petitions was continued from New York to Massachusetts. Campbell, of South Carolina, objected to the reception of a remonstrance, because it was not a petition; and he objected to the reception, and moved to lay the objection on the table, of a petition for the recognition of the republic of Hayti. At this stage a motion was made, and carried, to adjourn.

21st. Mr. Rhind came this morning and left with me a statement of his claim as Commissioner of President Jackson at Constantinople for negotiating the treaty with the Sublime Porte, together with six appended documents as vouchers—all addressed to me as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations. Mr. Rhind undertook also to give me a verbal exposition of his claim and history of his negotiations; but, although not inexpert in the art of intermingling flattery in his

discourse, he had so little that of exciting interest in his narrative or his argument that I fear their narcotic influence laid me asleep. He said, and repeated many times, that my plan for the Turkish negotiation was admirable, but failed by the overweening vanity of my agent, Commodore Crane, Offley, the Consul at Smyrna, and Edward Wyer, every one of whom blabbed the secret of his appointment and thereby blasted the chance of success.

At the House, the day was again consumed by the presentation of petitions. Campbell's motion to lay on the table his own objection to the reception of the petition from Springfield for the recognition of the republic of Hayti was rejected, by yeas and nays—eighty-six to ninety-four. Many petitions with the same prayer had for several sessions been received and referred to the Committee of Foreign Relations. Calhoun and the other members from Massachusetts presented all their petitions before I began. Many of them were from anti-slavery petitioners, all of which were excluded by the rule or by being laid on the table.

When my turn came, I presented first the petition of Martha Piatt, daughter of Captain Huddy, which was referred to the Committee of Revolutionary Pensions; then two petitions from George Catlin, at London, for the admission of a work of his upon the Indians; referred to the Committee on the Library; then a memorial from the Directors of the Columbian Institution for the Promotion of Science, with the draft of a bill by Judge Cranch, containing the Constitution of the Society; referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

I presented a petition from sundry citizens of Massachusetts, praying that the benefits of the naturalization laws may be extended to persons of color.

Wise made objection to its reception, and moved to lay his own objection on the table; carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and sixteen to sixty-eight. A petition to Congress to secure to each of the States a republican government was in like manner laid on the table.

A resolution of a Pennsylvania anti-slavery society against a war with England to hold native Americans in slavery. Wise

objected to this as not *presentable*, because it was not a petition; but the Speaker overruled that. He then attempted to prevent me from reading it, but did not succeed in that; but it was laid on the table.

I finally presented the petition from Georgia for my own removal from the office of Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and demanded to be heard in my own defence; which produced a fractious debate, cut off, after four o'clock, by the adjournment of the House. Marshall, of Kentucky, had moved that I should have leave to be heard in my own defence. Wise moved to lay the motion on the table; rejected—eighty-two to eighty-four; whole subject laid on the table—ninety-four to ninety-two.

22d. Meeting of the friends of the right of petition, in the room of the Committee of Commerce; very small, only nine members attending—Barnard, A. Lawrence, Foster, Gates, Giddings, Henry Linn, Maynard, Saltonstall. Others had been notified, and promised to attend, but did not. Chittenden mistook the room, went to that of the Committee of Post-Offices and Post-Roads, and, finding nobody there, came to me afterwards to enquire why the meeting had failed.

I had drawn up a sketch of six resolutions to present to the meeting for consideration—the first three declaring the rule to be unconstitutional, specially oppressive on the free States, and especially outrageous to the rights of States, and the other three proposing remedial measures—the last proposing to form an association of members to restore to the people the suppressed constitutional right of petition; to hold weekly meetings.

My draft of resolutions was read; no exception was taken to either of them. But the meeting was so small that it was thought best to try for another more numerous meeting next Saturday.

At the House, Everett, from the Committee on the Apportionment, reported a bill and sundry documents. The ratio of representation is reported at sixty-three thousand to each member. A debate of two hours was started. W. Cost Johnson moved the recommitment of the bill to a committee of one

member from each State; but the motion prevailed to refer it to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union and make it the special order of the day for the first Tuesday of February, and every succeeding day till the passage of the bill.

My petition from Georgia next came up. Thomas F. Marshall's motion that I should be permitted to address the House in my own defence. Campbell, of South Carolina, voted for it, and then moved a reconsideration, and commenced a debate about receiving and rejecting abolition petitions. But the moment I opened my lips to answer him, the Speaker stopped me for irrelevancy. The House refused to reconsider, and I addressed the House; but I was not allowed to speak five minutes without interruptions, and speeches of double that length, from W. Cost Johnson, Wise, Rayner, and others, till I had got half through an extract from Wise's Accomac letter—when they succeeded in arresting me by a vote that I should not proceed, and the House adjourned.

23d. I attended public worship alone at the Capitol, and heard Mr. Maffitt, as he announced, upon the necessity of divine revelation. His text, as he had last Sunday given notice that it would be, was from Job xi. 7: "Canst thou by searching find out God? canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?" 8: "It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than hell; what canst thou know?" 9: "The measure thereof is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea." The hall was crowded to suffocation. I got a seat in one of the reporters' boxes, only by the kindness of Christopher Morgan, who had it and insisted upon my taking it. Mr. Maffitt's eloquence reminds me, more than of anything else, of the froth of spruce beer, exceedingly pleasant to the taste, but the mere froth of small beer—mere gas, without substance and without permanent effect. His articulation is slow, distinct, theatrical; his voice, clear, strong, melodious; his learning, the offscouring of magazines, reviews, newspapers, and the romances of Sir Walter Scott; his logic, below zero; his flights of fancy, sky-rocketish, just high enough to be lost in the clouds; and his puffs upon the Bible—which he handles as Signor Blitz

handles his cup and balls—sickening to those who believe it all the acting of a part. His power is all imaginative, and not pathetic. His delivery furnishes an excellent study for a young lawyer, legislator, or stump-orator, and a theme for philosophical reflection, and enquiry what is the elementary adamant of attraction which always gathers overflowing multitudes to hear a public speaker.

24th. At the House, the curious decision of the House on Saturday, sustaining the Speaker in pronouncing me out of order, upon a point made by Rayner, which the Speaker himself said was not the point decided by him, came up. I claimed the right to proceed; but the House, by yeas and nays, decided that I should not. This arbitrary decision was no sooner announced than Wise started up, and swaggeringly said, "And now is *my* turn;" and he demanded to be heard in defence of himself against charges which he pretended I had made against *him*. The rabid Democrats of the North were all for allowing him; but his motion was finally laid on the table, by yeas and nays—one hundred and one to seventy-eight; and most of those who voted for silencing me voted also against silencing him.

I then renewed the motion to refer the petition to the committee, with instructions to choose a Chairman if they think proper. Debate arising thereon, it was laid over, and I presented sundry other petitions.

One from Benjamin Emerson and forty-five others, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, praying Congress to take measures for peaceably dissolving the Union, with an assignment of three reasons. I moved its reference to a select committee, with instructions to report an answer assigning the reasons why the prayer of the petition ought not to be granted. Then came another explosion, and, after a snarling debate, a resolution offered by Thomas W. Gilmer, that I deserved the censure of the House for presenting a petition praying for the dissolution of the Union.[1] Hot debate arose upon this, in the midst of which the House adjourned. Evening in meditation.

[1] Mr. Gilmer's resolution was in these words:

"*Resolved*, That in presenting to the consideration of the House a petition for the

25th. Met the Committee of Foreign Affairs. I attended at ten. Gilmer came in shortly after—then Everett, Cushing, Granger, and Proffit. Gilmer objected to proceeding to business till eleven o'clock, waiting for a full meeting; but Hunter, W. Cost Johnson, and Rhett did not come. Gilmer and Proffit were very uneasy, and more than once went out and consulted together. Gilmer proposed to adjourn, supposing the committee had nothing to do. But there were numerous references to the committee, since their last meeting, of private claims, which were distributed among the members for reports. Mr. Everett said he should prefer to wait till next week to present his report upon the claim of Margaret Meade.

After the adjournment of the committee, Mr. Cushing said to me that it was the intention of the Southern members of the committee to displace me and elect him Chairman of the committee, and he proposed to excuse himself from taking any part in the movement.

I said I did not see any reason why he should withdraw from acting on the subject.

He said I had expressed the opinion that he was too much prejudiced against England.

I said I did not see why that should require him to decline the performance of his duty.

dissolution of the Union, the member from Massachusetts has justly incurred the censure of this House."

The original petition, with all the various endorsements made by the Clerk of the House until the 7th of February, when the struggle ended, was found lying between the leaves of the diary.

In order fully to present the case to the reader, it is inserted here.

"To the Congress of the United States.

"The undersigned, citizens of Haverhill, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, pray that you will immediately adopt measures peaceably to dissolve the Union of these States.

"First, because no union can be agreeable or permanent which does not present prospect of reciprocal benefits.

"Second, because a vast proportion of the resources of one section of the Union is annually drained to sustain the views and course of another section, without any adequate return.

"Third, because, judging from history of past nations, that Union, if persisted in, in the present course of things, will certainly overwhelm the whole nation in utter destruction." Signed by forty six names.

At the House, Fillmore obtained, by a vote of yeas and nays, a postponement of the privileged question (Gilmer's resolution of censure upon me) till one o'clock, in which he introduced the General Appropriation bills and sundry resolutions, and urged the House to take up the Treasury Note bill, returned from the Senate with an amendment striking out Gilmer's additional section; but they refused. A motion was made to lay the bill on the table; lost, by yeas and nays—ninety-two to one hundred and eleven.

At one, Gilmer's resolution of censure upon me was taken up. Thomas F. Marshall offered a much more violent one, with a flaming preamble charging me in substance with subornation of perjury and high treason, and resolutions that the House might well expel me, but would only pass upon me the sentence of their highest indignation, and turn me over, for the rest, to my own conscience and the contempt of the world.[1]

The Speaker received this resolution, and when Marshall finished his speech in support of it he called upon me for my answer to it, and said the question would be on the adoption of the resolution.

[1] This resolution was doubtless the result of consultation among many members representing the slave States, who thought they had at last caught Mr. Adams in a position which would ever after discredit him before the whole country. Considering the importance of the event in Mr. Adams's life, it seems not out of place to connect it, in these pages, with the record of the greatest struggle in his career.

It begins with the following preamble:

"*Whereas*, The Federal Constitution is a permanent form of government, and of perpetual obligation until altered or modified in the mode pointed out by that instrument, and the members of the House of Representatives, deriving their political character and powers from the same, are sworn to support it, and the dissolution of the Union necessarily implies the destruction of that instrument, the overthrow of the American Republic, and the extinction of our national existence: a proposition, therefore, to the representatives of the people to dissolve the organic law framed by their constituents, and to support which they are commanded by those constituents to be sworn, before they can enter upon the execution of the political power created by it and intrusted to them, is a high breach of privilege, a contempt offered to this House, a direct proposition to the Legislature and each member of it to commit perjury, and involves necessarily in its execution and its consequences the destruction of our country, and the crime of high treason:

"*Resolved, therefore*, That the Hon. J. Q. Adams, a member from Massachusetts, in presenting for the consideration of the House of Representatives of the United

I said I thought it impossible the House should entertain the resolution, and, after a few remarks, postponing my defence till it should be ascertained that I stand accused, I finished, and was followed by Henry A. Wise, who, in a speech of personal invective upon me, took nearly two hours, and then, at the motion of his colleague, Hopkins, the House adjourned.

26th. Attended this morning the committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Present, Adams, Underwood, Houston, Randall, and Truman Smith. The documents requested from the Secretary of the Treasury had not been received. The committee sat about half an hour, and then adjourned; after which Mr. Habersham came in. Absent, Charles J. Ingersoll, Hunter, and Bowne. I am convinced that nothing will be done of any use by this committee.

In the House, Fillmore made an attempt to take up the Treasury Note bill, returned from the Senate with an amendment striking out Gilmer's additional section; but Wise objected the question of privilege. I addressed the Speaker, referring to the letter from Wise, from which I was reading. Wise resumed his philippic against me, and kept it up about three hours before he finished.

I then said that I had determined not to interrupt him till he had disgorged his whole cargo of filthy invective, but I thought it impossible that the House should entertain the resolution which charged me with subornation of perjury, and

States a petition praying the dissolution of the Union, has offered the deepest indignity to the House, of which he is a member, an insult to the people of the United States, of which that House is the legislative organ; and will, if this outrage be permitted to pass unrebuked and unpunished, have disgraced his country, through their Representative, in the eyes of the whole world.

"*Resolved, further*, That the aforesaid John Quincy Adams, for the insult, the first of the kind ever offered to the Government, and for the wound which he has permitted to be aimed, through his instrumentality, at the Constitution and existence of his country, the peace, the security and liberty of the people of these United States, might well be held to merit expulsion from the National Councils; and the House deem it an act of grace and mercy when they only inflict upon him their severest censure for conduct so utterly unworthy of his past relation to the State, and his present position. This they hereby do for the maintenance of their own purity and dignity. For the rest, they turn him over to his own conscience and the indignation of all true American citizens."

consequential high treason—crimes for which I could only be tried by a regular Circuit Court, by an impartial jury; and I claimed the benefit of the sixth article amendatory to the Constitution of the United States.

The Speaker required me to reduce my point of order to writing; which I did, and congratulated the Speaker upon his discovery of the expediency of having points of order reduced to writing—a favor which he had repeatedly denied to me.

He said it was a power exclusively possessed by the Speaker, but that my demand was a question not for him to decide, but for the House.

I then addressed the House, and denied their power to try me for the crimes with which I was charged, and that they had no right to assume the guilt without allowing me the privilege of a trial. And as to the resolution itself, I denied the right of at least one hundred members of the House to sit in judgment upon me, their personal and pecuniary interest in the question carrying such a bias against me as would make them challengeable as jurors in a Court of law.

Marshall replied by a County Court subterfuge of argument, that the charges of subornation of perjury and consequential high treason were not against me, but against the petitioners; and he argued that I might be punished for the contempt of the House, although for the same crime I might be tried by the judicial tribunals of the country.

Fillmore finally moved to lay the whole subject on the table —which was rejected, by a vote of ninety to one hundred, and the House adjourned.

Evening visits from Mr. John S. Skinner with David B. Ogden and Victory Birdseye, a member from New York (Pompey, Onondaga County), who was the counsel for the State of New York, after John C. Spencer, in the Morgan cases, who had spoken to me in the House, and now came to mine to offer me any service of assistance that he can give me upon my trial.

My dear wife, in her kind and affectionate assiduity and in her anxious and faithful solicitude for me, overplied the energies of her nature, so that she suffered this day a fainting-fit;

but it was transient, and she soon recovered, and was up again when I returned this evening from the House. Miss Pierce this morning brought me a letter from her sister, Mrs. Telfair, complaining of me for occupying the time of the House instead of urging them to the consideration and satisfaction of her claims, and begging a gift of five dollars. This is the way of the world.

27th. Mr. Weld came, with a kind offer of assistance in the search of documents, books, or papers. Mr. Weld spoke of the temper of the people here, highly excited by these motions of censure upon me and the inflammatory harangues of Wise and Marshall against me; but he said he thought the tide was turning in my favor.

At the House, yesterday, when I denied the right of the House to try me for the crimes with which I was charged in Marshall's preamble and resolution, the Speaker had required me to reduce my objection to writing, and suggested himself that it might be in the form of a question whether the House would consider Marshall's resolution; to which I had assented.

This morning, Botts, who wanted to make a speech, asked me to withdraw my objection to the consideration—which I declined, being determined that I will not be responsible for the consumption of one hour of the time of the House upon my personal concerns. The question, therefore, put in this form, "Will the House *now* consider the resolution?" involving the question both of time and power, was of the Speaker's own suggestion. The proceeding was denounced as a trick, however, by Rayner, who gave notice that he would to-morrow move for amendment of the journal. But on the question whether the House would *now* consider Marshall's resolution the vote was one hundred and eighteen to seventy-five.

Underwood then took the floor in a speech of an hour and a half against the resolution; he was followed by Botts, and he by Arnold, of Tennessee, and he by Saltonstall. The effect of these speeches against the resolution was so powerful that Richard W. Thompson, of Belford, Lawrence County, Indiana, immediately moved to lay the whole subject on the table. That motion would unquestionably have prevailed if taken

then. But Marshall, of Kentucky, and Gilmer, both implored Thompson to withdraw his motion—which he declined; and then followed an alternation of motions to adjourn, and calls of the House, with yeas and nays successively taken, till the majority were wearied out, and the House adjourned.

28th. Mr. Weld was again here, and undertook to mark the passages in Marshall's Life of Washington recounting the charge against him of being under English influence.

At the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, Fillmore enquired of the Speaker, what was the business before the House, and was answered that it was the question of privilege on my trial. Lewis Williams moved a call of the House; which was carried, and pursued until two hundred and one members answered to their names, after which the call was superseded. The question was upon the motion of Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, to lay Marshall's resolution of censure upon me on the table.

Marshall now, with intense importunity, urged Thompson to withdraw his motion, to give him the opportunity to explain and to justify himself; Thompson, after much struggling, yielded, upon condition that Marshall, after delivering his few words, would renew the motion to lay the whole subject on the table. Marshall then commenced a violent, declamatory, and most eloquent philippic of nearly two hours against me. He labored with agonizing energy to answer the speeches of Underwood and of Botts delivered yesterday, and was particularly resentful against Underwood.

I interrupted him occasionally, to rectify gross misrepresentations of facts, and sometimes to provoke him into absurdity; as, for example, at one part of his speech, that the Northern abolitionists knew nothing about the condition of the slaves, he assumed a courteous tone, and invited me to visit the Western country. "To be lynched," said I. "Very likely," said he; and proceeded. When he closed, he renewed, according to his pledge to Thompson, the motion to lay the whole subject on the table, but said he earnestly hoped it would not prevail, and voted against it.

When the roll was called upon the question to lay on the

table, Botts rose, and asked if I wished to reply to Marshall. I said I would not be responsible for the consumption of one hour of time upon concerns merely personal to me; that Marshall had occupied two hours in a personal invective upon me, based upon principles totally unfounded and unjust.

Here I was stopped by calls to order, and not allowed to answer the question. The motion to lay on the table was rejected, by yeas and nays—ninety-six to one hundred and ten; and I arose to make my defence. Gilmer interrupted me to enquire whether he could not have an opportunity to make a speech in support of *his* resolutions of censure.

The Speaker said he would, unless the whole subject should be laid on the table or the previous question taken.

Gilmer then apologized to me for interrupting me, and I entered upon my defence. I was soon interrupted by Wise to defend himself for his share in the Cilley duel; and challenged him to name any colleague of mine who ever told him that I had defended at a public meeting his innocence in that affair. He said there were two or three of them; they were now present; he would not name them, but leave them to answer for themselves; and a dead silence followed.

I caused to be read at the Clerk's table extracts from the report of the majority of the committee on the Cilley duel case, and from the minority report of Elmore in the same case. It was now past four o'clock, and, at the request of Botts and many others, I yielded the floor to him for a motion to adjourn; which he made, and it was carried. I came home to a sick family, and to musings for the further defence of myself against this persecution.

29th. Mr. Choate, one of the Senators from Massachusetts, came this morning and offered me any assistance that it might be in his power to render me in my present strait; for which I thanked him, and may perhaps avail myself of his offer, my means of defence requiring searches of books and documents, multiplying upon me as I proceed.

At the House, Fillmore moved, with my consent, that the question of privilege should be suspended to take up the amendments of the Senate to the Treasury Note bill. I said I

consented, because I would not be answerable for one moment of time consumed on matters merely personal to me. Joseph R. Ingersoll offered resolutions to suspend my trial—1, to afford me time to obtain information necessary for my defence; 2, to instruct the Committee on the Judiciary to consult and report upon precedents applicable to the case. The resolutions were objected to by Mallory and others. But Fillmore's motion to take up the Treasury Note bill finally prevailed, against the earnest remonstrances of Sprigg, of Kentucky, who, when it was taken up, made a two hours' speech against it. Stanly then moved the previous question. Roosevelt then made a question of privilege, that the amendment of the Senate made it a bill for raising revenue, which it was not when it went from the House, and that the Senate could not convert an ordinary bill into a revenue bill, because all bills to raise revenue must originate in the House. The Speaker overruled this objection. Roosevelt appealed from the decision—which was sustained by the House—one hundred and twelve to seventy-three; and immediately afterwards Atherton repeated it as a point of order. The Speaker again overruled it. Atherton again appealed. and again the Speaker's decision was sustained—one hundred and seventeen to seventy-six. Hopkins moved to lay the bill on the table; rejected, by yeas and nays—ninety-six to one hundred and one. The final question of concurring with the Senate in striking out Gilmer's section was carried by a tie—one hundred to one hundred—and the casting vote of the Speaker. I was deeply fearful that a reconsideration would be moved; but it was not, and the bill was passed.

Fillmore moved immediately to adjourn, but Nathaniel G. Pendleton, of Cincinnati, Ohio, started up with a resolution as a substitute for Marshall's resolution of censure upon me. Pendleton's resolution was a frothy declaration of abhorrence of a petition for the dissolution of the Union; that the petition was presented by me, and that it be not received. Proffit and Mallory, two of the most inveterate of my persecutors, objected to receiving Pendleton's motion. Nothing but the vengeful malignity of Marshall's resolution will satisfy them;

and yet Proffit, to throw me off my guard, said to me that there would be a majority of fifty against Marshall's resolution in the House.

30th. I attended public worship this morning at the Second Presbyterian Church, where Mr. Moore preached from Philippians i. 6: "Being confident of this very thing; that he which hath begun a good work in you will perform it, until the day of Jesus Christ." My mind, I am sorry to say, is so totally absorbed by the trial which the liberties of my country are enduring in my person, that it could not rest on the words of the preacher with attention sufficient to consign any part of his discourse to my memory.

In the evening I was visited by Minot Thayer, and by my colleagues of the House, Briggs, Burnell, Calhoun, and Hudson, and had much conversation with them on the peculiarity of my position under a double threat of punishment by the arbitrary and despotic action of the House. They all assured me of their sympathy, and offered me every assistance in their power.

31st. The pressure upon my mind in the preparation for my defence is so great that for several successive nights I have had little sleep. Last night brought me some respite and relief, and I slept this morning almost until sunrise.

Mr. Leavitt and Mr. Weld called on me this morning and offered me any further assistance in their power in collecting books or papers which I may want for my defence, in making extracts from them for me.

At the House, very little business was done. The Treasury Note bill was signed by the Speaker. Cross, of Arkansas, asked leave to offer a resolution of call upon the President for a copy of the report of the Commissioner appointed for surveying the boundary line between this Government and the republic of Texas.

I saw that my only means of obtaining the documents for which I proposed to call upon the President and the State and Navy Departments would be to put the condition of my consent to the reception of Cross's resolution, to the consideration by the House of my resolutions, offered several days since, at the same time.

Gilmer objected to the consideration of my resolution, and, while Cross was endeavoring to prevail on him to withdraw his objection, the Speaker presented to the House several Executive documents on his table. Cross then renewed his attempt to offer his resolution. I repeated my conditional consent. Gilmer persisted in his objection to the consideration of my resolutions, and I in my conditional objection to the reception of that of Cross. It was not received. Gilmer's pretence was that the consideration of my resolutions would occasion delay. I claimed the floor to enter upon my defence. Stanly asked leave to offer a resolution that the Committee on Public Expenditures should have leave to employ a clerk. John Van Buren objected.

At this stage, Asbury Dickins, Secretary of the Senate, came in, and announced the death of Nathan Fellows Dixon, one of the Senators from Rhode Island; whereupon Tillinghast delivered a very handsome funeral eulogy upon him, concluding with the usual resolutions of deep sensibility, of wearing crape, of attendance at his funeral, and of immediate adjournment. While the House was in session, I gave notice personally to every member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs to attend the meeting of the committee to-morrow morning.

Day. My occupations during the month have been confined entirely to the business of the House, and for the last ten days to the defence of myself against an extensive combination and conspiracy, in and out of Congress, to crush the liberties of the free people of this Union by disgracing me with a brand of censure and displacing me from the chair of the Committee of Foreign Affairs for my perseverance in presenting abolition petitions. I am in the midst of that fiery ordeal, and day and night are absorbed in the struggle to avert my ruin. God send me a good deliverance!

February 1st. Meeting at ten this morning of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. I presented a paper stating that Thomas W. Gilmer, a member of the House from Virginia, and a member of the committee, having announced in the House his intention to move, without instructions from the House, to elect a Chairman, the present Chairman now enquired whether

he was ready to make that motion; and moved that this enquiry, together with Mr. Gilmer's answer thereto, should be entered on the minutes of the proceedings of the committee.

After some shuffling conversation, Gilmer wrote an answer that he was ready to vote against me. I objected that this was no answer to the enquiry, since he could not vote against me without a motion made, and no other person had manifested a purpose to make the motion; whereupon, after more dodging, he finally added that he was ready to make the motion.

I requested that the minutes of the committee might henceforth be kept by another member; and Cushing undertook it. Everett moved to lay the whole subject on the table. Everett, Cushing, Granger, and Rhett voted aye; Gilmer, Hunter, Cost Johnson, Proffit, and I voted no; and upon my motion to enter my enquiry and motion and Gilmer's answer upon the minutes, the ayes were Hunter, Proffit, Rhett, and myself, and the noes, Everett, Granger, Johnson, and Cushing. I then called upon Gilmer to make his motion; but the time of the meeting of the House had arrived, and Everett moved the committee to adjourn to the usual time this day week; which was carried.

The House met at twelve o'clock, but transacted no business. A few minutes after, notice was given that the Senate were ready for the ceremony; and the Speaker and Clerk of the House, preceded by the Sergeant-at-Arms, and followed by the members two-and-two, marched into the Senate-chamber, where seats were provided for as many as could be accommodated. I walked with Mr. Russell, a new member from Pennsylvania, and stood in the middle aisle while the religious solemnities were performed. W. W. Irwin, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, who had occupied a Senator's chair, left it for me; but I declined taking it, and afterwards W. S. Archer, a Senator from Virginia, came and took it. Mr. Tustin, the Chaplain of the Senate, made a prayer, and Mr. Maffitt, the Chaplain of the House, delivered a rambling, short discourse. The procession was then formed, and walked to the depot of railway-cars about starting for Baltimore. I then returned to the House, and thence home, and at five went and dined at Mr. Seaton's with Lord Morpeth, Mr. South-

ard, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Preston, of South Carolina—a very pleasant party.

2d. Meeting of the committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Present, Adams, Smith, Habersham, Randall, Underwood; absent, C. J. Ingersoll, Hunter, Houston, and Bowne. A letter from Franklin Knight to R. W. Habersham was read, with a project for applying the Smithsonian Fund to the establishment and support of a farm-school—D. H. Lewis's plan.

H. R. Everett, of Vermont, gave notice that he would call up the Apportionment bill next Tuesday, and made a report on the case of Blair and Rives. Gamble, of Georgia, asked leave to present resolutions of the Legislature of that State concerning the establishment of certain post-roads. I said, as I had said last week to Cross, of Arkansas, that I would readily consent to the House's taking up for consideration their resolutions, provided they would at the same time take up and pass upon those I had offered, calling upon the President and two of the Executive Departments for information essential to my defence.

The Speaker considered this as an objection to the reception of Gamble's motion, and called up my trial as the order of the day. I then demanded the action of the House upon my resolution of call. Gilmer writhed and wriggled, and moved to lay the whole subject on the table;[1] which I resisted, and was rejected, by yeas and nays—eighty-nine to one hundred and eleven. Pickens, Holmes, Smith, of Virginia, and Gilmer opposed the call; but it was carried—ninety-seven to ninety-six—as was the second—ninety-five to eighty-four; the third, at the motion of Gentry, was laid on the table—one hundred and eleven to sixty-four. I entered upon my defence. Summers moved an amendment to Marshall's amendment of Gilmer's resolution of censure. Summers's amendment was, to refer the whole subject to a select committee. He moved the previous question, but withdrew it at the earnest importunity of Gilmer, who was teeming with a speech against me. He spoke accord-

[1] There is a slight inaccuracy here. Mr. Gilmer moved to lay the first resolution on the table, whereupon Mr. J. D. Jones moved that the whole subject matter, including Mr. Gilmer's motion, lie on the table. The yeas and nays taken were on the latter motion.

ingly about an hour, and then, upon a motion of Mallory, the House adjourned.

I dined with Kennedy and Winthrop. Lord Morpeth, General Scott, Mr. Southard, D. D. Barnard, and Mr. Meredith, of Baltimore, were of the party. Very pleasant.

3d. Mr. Radcliff called on me this morning, and read to me the answer he had received from the Secretary of State to his application as the Agent and in behalf of the Republic of the Isthmus. It is procrastinative, and argues soundly the necessity of delay before recognizing as an independent State a part of an extensive country with which we are in friendly relations. Mr. Radcliff seemed earnestly inclined to press for the interposition of our Government to mediate for the final separation of the State of the Isthmus from New Grenada; but I dissuaded him from that, and advised him to wait patiently for the result of the informal mission to the Isthmus contemplated by Mr. Tyler.

At the House, my resolution calling for A. Stevenson's correspondence with Commodore Hull, inadvertently overlooked yesterday, was taken up, and, at my motion, adopted without a division.

Gilmer consumed nearly two hours in his long-meditated and bitterly rancorous speech against me. When he closed, Cushing started up; but the Speaker said I was entitled to the floor in my own defence. I spoke accordingly about an hour and a half, and brought to light the conspiracy among the Southern members of the Committee of Foreign Affairs to displace me as Chairman and to elect Cushing in my stead. I produced the anonymous letter from Jackson, North Carolina, 20th January, 1842, threatening me with assassination, and the engraved portrait of me with the mark of a rifle-ball on the forehead, with the motto, to stop the music of John Quincy Adams, sixth President of the United States,

> "Who, in the space of one revolving moon,
> Is statesman, poet, babbler, and buffoon."

These were Gilmer's own words, excepting the word fiddler, which his echo changed to babbler. I produced also and read the minutes of the proceedings in the Committee of Foreign

Affairs. I reviewed my relations with the Virginian Presidents of the United States heretofore—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe—and contrasted them with this base conspiracy of three Virginians, banded here, together with numerous accomplices in and out of the House, for my destruction. Near four o'clock I closed for the day, with an apt quotation from Moore's "Loves of the Angels," and came home very much exhausted.

4th. I occupied the whole of this day in continuing my defence before the House. I began by renewing the charge upon Gilmer of having tampered with my colleague, Cushing, by the offer to choose him Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in my place. He denied it positively, and called upon Cushing as positively to deny it—which, with no small blustering, he did. I then called upon Cushing to say who it was that had made the overture to him—which, after some shuffling, he declined to do, upon the pretence of not revealing private conversation; but R. B. Rhett was forced to come out and acknowledge that *he* was the man who, on the same day when Gilmer gave notice in the House that he should move in committee to choose another Chairman, went to Cushing and told him that they would elect him Chairman in my place. Cushing repelled the advance, and said he would not serve, and entreated Proffit to dissuade them from the attempt—which he did for two days, without success.

After bringing out all this, I returned to the Haverhill petition and to the external conspiracy against me; to the Gilmer and Marshall resolutions of censure, and the intervening Southern caucus. I brought out Triplett to acknowledge that he called the caucus; Marshall, that his resolution had been submitted to them, and that there were forty members and more at the caucus. I paid my tribute of thanks to Lott Warren, of Georgia, for his manly declaration of yesterday, that he would give no countenance whatever to these proceedings; and I returned with warm acknowledgments the kindness of the members from Kentucky, Maryland, and Virginia who have refused to join in this conspiracy against me; and I charged the newspapers of this city and District with injustice to me,

the Globe being daily filled with abuse and invective upon me while I am here on my trial, and the reporters of the Intelligencer suppressing the most essential parts of my defence. I specially refuted the pretence that the Union could be dissolved only by force, and cited the example of the peaceable dissolution of the Confederation Union by the present Constitution of the United States. Adjourned after three.

5th. No report of my yesterday's speech in the National Intelligencer, but a blustering notification that, as I have chosen to complain of their reporters, they will report no more without my own authority. This is a mere subterfuge to suppress the publication of my defence and the exposure which I made of the conspiracy in and out of the House against me. I read the paragraph in this morning's Intelligencer merely stating that I had continued my defence, and the sturdy notification that they would report nothing further unless furnished by myself; and I commented freely upon them as proof demonstrative of the servile submission of the press in this District to the slave tyranny of the South; and I requested a postponement of further proceedings on my trial till next Thursday week, for time to receive answers to my calls on the Executive Departments and to prepare for my defence, so that it may be reported without delay.

Marshall made a bitter and spiteful speech against the postponement, and Arnold moved the previous question upon the resolutions. I saw that would cut me off from all further defence, and preferred going on at once. Arnold, at my request, withdrew his motion for the previous question. I withdrew mine for postponement, and proceeded. I was not well prepared, having expected that there would be no opposition to my motion for postponement; but I found no lack of matter for discourse, till the motion, between three and four, for adjournment, which was carried. My last missile upon Marshall was an exquisite blast upon slavery by himself in his pamphlet letters to the Commonwealth newspaper. He writhed under it in agony. Before I had read the extract half through, Romulus M. Saunders started up on a point of order on the old pretence—that I had no right to discuss the subject of slavery.

The Speaker ruled the point against him. He appealed, and demanded the yeas and nays, which were refused, and the decision of the Speaker sustained—ninety-seven to twenty-five. I saw my cause was gained, and Marshall was sprawling in his own compost. I came home scarcely able to crawl up to my chamber, but with the sound of "Io triumphe" ringing in my ear. Marshall sent to me and demanded the return of his pamphlet.

6th. After dinner, at St. John's Church, Mr. Hawley read prayers for the Sunday before Lent, and preached from Matthew xiii. 47: "Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind." My attention, morning and afternoon, involuntarily wandered from the preachers and their discourses to the critical nature of my own position; confident of my deliverance from this particular assault upon me, so senseless that its malignity merges, by its stupidity, not into innocence, but into harmlessness, but always distrustful of my own control over my own spirit. One hundred members of the House represent slaves; four-fifths of whom would crucify me if their votes could erect the cross; forty members, representatives of the free, in the league of slavery and mock Democracy, would break me on the wheel, if their votes or wishes could turn it round; and four-fifths of the other hundred and twenty are either so cold or so lukewarm that they are ready to desert me at the very first scintillation of indiscretion on my part. The only formidable danger with which I am beset is that of my own temper.

Mr. Barnard came with a manuscript report, by the reporters of the National Intelligencer, of my speech of yesterday, for my revisal. They sent it to Mr. Barnard, supposing that, after their sally against me, I might possibly not incline to receive it directly from themselves. Mr. Barnard told me that intimations had been very distinctly given to Gales and Seaton that their treatment of me could not be tolerated at the North, and that this was the occasion of their sending their reporters' notes to me through him. I was up till past midnight, revising the notes of the Friday's debate.

7th. Mr. Weld was here this morning, with a cheering re-

port of the impression of my defence of Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, upon the current of popular opinion out of the House. A Mr. Dorsey, a stranger, brought me a document which he supposed might be useful to me in my defence; and Robert Reeves, the Scotch ex-custodian of the Treasury Building, came and took back his manuscript dialogue between a Calvinist and an Arminian, which he had lent me to read, and in which he is sure that he has definitively settled the knotty problem of predestination and free will.

I prepared a minute of the outlines of the continuance and conclusion of my defence, which would have occupied at least a week. But I saw on Saturday that the House was tired of the whole subject, and that to close it now would afford relief to all parties. I went to the House, therefore, prepared to proceed, but willing to stop short and dismiss the subject from the consideration of the House forever. I was belated, and the House had been about ten minutes in session when I entered and took my seat. Other business was under consideration, but the question of privilege, or my trial, was soon called up. I then observed that, having perceived on Saturday some impatience on the part of the House to get rid of this subject, and persevering in the determination not to be responsible for one hour of time unnecessarily consumed on this subject, if the House was ready to lay it on the table forever, I would acquiesce in that decision without requiring further time for my defence; of which I should need much if required to proceed.

Botts then moved to lay the whole subject on the table forever; carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and six to ninety-three. Meriwether, of Georgia, asked to be excused from voting, because he hotly lusted for a vote of the severest censure upon me, but despaired of obtaining it. The House refused to excuse him, and he voted to lay on the table the whole subject. They then took in hand the Haverhill petition, and refused to receive it—one hundred and sixty-six to forty, Briggs, Baker, Cushing, and Hudson voting with the majority.

I then proceeded with my budget, of which I presented nearly two hundred, till the House adjourned. Most of them were excluded by the rule, or laid on the table by objections

to their reception. And thus ended the second prosecution of me by the despotic process of contempt. D. D. Barnard offered sundry resolutions denouncing the prosecution in its true character; but they were not in order, nor received by the House.

8th. Occupied night and day in revising the manuscript report of the Friday's part of my defence. I had yesterday morning returned to Mr. Gales the first part of Friday, revised, which was published in the Intelligencer of this morning. The remainder of the day, reported by Niles, is so poorly done that I am obliged to write it almost entirely over.

Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger. No quorum; no Southern member. Of course no business done; though Mr. Everett was ready with his report on the claim of Mrs. Meade. Committee adjourned to Tuesday next.

In the House, the call for petitions had rested yesterday at the State of Maine. Fessenden had presented a memorial from Portland, complaining of the injurious operation of the Convention with Great Britain upon the navigation, shipping, and commercial interest of Maine. He had moved its reference to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and that it should be printed; an attempt was made to refuse the printing, and the decision had been cut off by the adjournment. The printing and the reference were now ordered, and Fessenden gave notice that he would at an early day move to rescind the rule that excluded the reception of anti-slavery petitions; and this day closed the call for petitions, which had commenced on the 7th of January.

Cushing moved a reconsideration of the vote yesterday, refusing to receive the Haverhill petition, and claimed to be heard on his motion; but the Speaker refused to hear him. Cushing then claimed that the question upon receiving a petition was debatable; but the Speaker decided it was not. Cushing appealed from the decision, and called for the yeas and nays; but they were refused, and the decision of the Speaker was sustained. Cushing quite wrathy.

9th. Called twice at the National Intelligencer office, going to, and returning from, the Capitol. About the last third part of my Friday's speech was reported by a young man named

Niles, whose first manuscript I could not decipher, and I was obliged to write over again most of the second.

I attended the meeting of the committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Present, Adams, Underwood, Habersham, Smith; absent, C. J. Ingersoll, Randall, Houston, Bowne, and Hunter. No quorum, and nothing could be done. My time, night and day, has been, and yet is, so absorbed for my own defence that I can attend to nothing else. Mr. Smith said that he should not be here at the next weekly meeting, being obliged to go home to Connecticut on business.

In the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, Gilmer sent to the Speaker two papers; one signed by himself, R. M. T. Hunter, R. Barnwell Rhett, and George H. Proffit, asking to be excused from further service on the Committee of Foreign Affairs, because from recent occurrences it was doubtful whether the House would remove the Chairman, and they were unwilling to serve with one in whom they had no confidence. The other paper was a letter from W. Cost Johnson to Gilmer, apologizing for not attending the meeting of the committee yesterday, but assuring him that if he had attended he would have voted for another Chairman. These papers were received without objection. The four fugitive members were excused from further service by a shout of acclamation. Cost Johnson then asked to be excused, and was excused in like manner.

After some interloping business, the Speaker proposed to call the committees for reports — which was acquiesced in by the House. When he called the Committee of Foreign Affairs, I rose, and moved that the vacancies in the committee occasioned by the resignations should be filled. The Speaker said he should fill them on the suggestion.

The resolution to authorize the Committee of Manufactures to take testimony was further debated, and laid aside. The Pension Appropriation bill, and that for the relief of American seamen abroad, were passed. Just at the moment of adjournment, a volunteer speaker commenced a harangue from the circular gallery, denouncing the wrath to come, but was soon escorted, by the Door-keeper, out of the House.

10th. Call at the office of the National Intelligencer with the revisal of the reporter's notes of the close of last Friday, and with my oration at Newburyport and the Jubilee of the Constitution, from which I read extracts. But the letter from William Jay, and Marshall's pamphlet, from which I read the extract on Saturday, I cannot now obtain. Mr. Leavitt sent them to Boston, with his own report of my Saturday's speech, for the Boston Courier.

I attended the meeting of the Committee on the Longitude, of which Joseph R. Ingersoll was the first Chairman, but was afterwards excused from service on the committee at his own request. Boardman, of New Haven, then became the Chairman, and I was appointed in the place of Ingersoll. The committee consists of five—Boardman, Keim, Sumter, and Aycrigg, and myself instead of Ingersoll. Boardman and Keim were the only members at the committee-room this morning, and Boardman was very urgent upon me to assume the office of Chairman—which I positively declined. We had some desultory conversation upon the memorial from the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and agreed to meet again to-morrow morning.

In the House, on the reading of the journal, the appointment by the Speaker was announced of Edward D. White, of Louisiana, Augustine L. Shepperd, of North Carolina, Isaac E. Holmes, of South Carolina, Reuben Chapman, of Alabama, and Mark A. Cooper, of Georgia, five Southern slave-holders, as members of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, in the place of five who yesterday resigned. The resolution authorizing the Committee of Manufactures to take testimony was laid on the table, after a call of the House, by yeas and nays—one hundred and eight to seventy-nine. After a long debate, the Committee on Public Expenditures were authorized to employ a clerk. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Briggs in the chair, upon the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill. Another long and multifarious debate, first on an amendment offered by C. Cushing, to add three thousand dollars to the item of appropriation for the pay of clerks in the office of the Clerk of the House, two of whom

the committee proposed to curtail, because they were not authorized by law; and the discussion soon widened into a general retrenchment debate, demagogical and hypocritical, in the midst of which the House adjourned.

14th. At the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, the Speaker presented letters from Mark A. Cooper, Isaac E. Holmes, and Reuben Chapman, asking to be excused from serving on the Committee of Foreign Affairs. I imperfectly heard them read, and took no notice of them. They were excused by a silent vote; and I moved that their places should be supplied—which the Speaker said should be done. The remainder of the day was occupied by the call of the States for petitions, beginning with the Territory of Iowa, and proceeding south and east, to Maine: they were all called through. I presented all that I had left, except the three for the dissolution of the Union, which I gave notice that I intended to present hereafter.

15th. In the National Intelligencer of this morning I found the letters from Mark A. Cooper, Isaac E. Holmes, and Reuben Chapman, asking to be excused from serving on the Committee of Foreign Affairs; and the two former were so insulting personally to me that they are unquestionably breaches of privilege, and I confidently believe that the Speaker would have refused to receive or present them had they referred to any other man in the House; certainly not without giving notice to the inculpated member, and to the House, of the accusatory character of the letters. I was very strongly inclined to make it a point of privilege in the House to vindicate my own character. I had given notice to Holmes and Chapman on Saturday of the meeting of the committee this morning: neither of them had hinted his intention to ask to be excused.

At the meeting this morning, the six members in function were all present; but, as there were three vacancies, it was agreed to postpone till the next meeting the regular business of the committee. I read the letters of Mark A. Cooper and Holmes, and said I considered them gross breaches of privilege and had serious thoughts of denouncing them to the House.

But Everett and Granger said it would be giving them an importance which the writers earnestly desired; while without such notice they would be, as they were, universally despised. Shepperd and Edward T. White thought the letters insidiously aimed more against them than against me, by the principle assumed that *no* Southern man could in honor consent to serve with me. I determined, therefore, to sacrifice again my personal feelings for the sake of peace, and to take no notice of the letters. Everett gave notice that he would to-morrow move a suspension of the rules to take up the Apportionment bill. Gentry moved that the committee of the whole on the state of the Union should be instructed to strike out of the General Appropriation bill every item not authorized by an existing law; which, after much debate, was carried—one hundred and forty-four to twenty-two. That is my thunder; but it will be of no avail.

16th. Committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Adams, Habersham, Underwood, Randall—no quorum. No report yet from the Secretary of the Treasury on the present condition of the funds. In the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, Aaron Ward, of Westchester, New York, moved a reconsideration of the vote yesterday by which the bill relating to the District banks was passed. He gave no reason for his motion, and the bill was no longer in possession of the House, having been taken by the Clerk to the Senate. Ward said if the House should reconsider, a message might be sent to the Senate to demand the return of the bill—to which the Speaker assented; but D. D. Barnard appealed from his decision, and claimed to debate it. Lewis Williams had moved to lay Ward's motion for reconsideration upon the table, and Ward insisted that he had moved the previous question upon his own motion for reconsideration. The Speaker said he had not heard Ward's motion for the previous question, but would entertain it, upon his averment that he had made it. Barnard maintained that a motion not heard by the Speaker could not be before the House; but the Speaker adhered to his determination to consider Ward's motion as before the House, because, though not heard by him, Ward averred that he had made it.

This previous question stifled all debate upon Barnard's appeal from the decision of the Speaker to entertain Ward's motion for reconsideration, because, if it should prevail, a message might be sent to the Senate to return the bill. Barnard withdrew his appeal, and Lewis Williams's motion to lay Ward's motion for reconsideration on the table was carried, by yeas and nays—ninety-eight to eighty-three. Everett made another abortive attempt to prevail upon the House to fix a time for the consideration of the Apportionment bill. Then came a retrenchment debate on Summers's curtailment of two clerks, for the morning hour; and the General Appropriation bill in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, George N. Briggs in the chair. McKeon moved to strike out the enacting clause. The Chairman decided that this was not in order. McKeon appealed; but the Chairman's decision was sustained. The committee rose, and the House adjourned. The three vacancies in the Committee of Foreign Affairs are not yet filled.

17th. Mr. Angier rode with me this morning to the Capitol. I introduced him into the library of Congress, and to the Librarian, Meehan; and I went with him to the room where the Supreme Court of the United States were in session. This room I re-entered, with a silent thrill of delight, for the first time since I was there at this time last year under such a heavy pressure of responsibility and with so glorious a result! I dare not trust myself with the exultation of my own heart on this occasion, so fearful am I of incurring the guilt of presumptuous vanity, for the feeling of deep humility.

In the House, after an effort of Cooper to run through a resolution from the Committee on Indian Affairs concerning the authority of the Secretary of War to employ certain clerks, and further debate on the first of Summers's retrenchment resolutions, in which Bowne, of New York, and Milton Brown, of Tennessee, consumed the time till the expiration of the morning hour, when Fillmore called for the orders of the day, Caleb Cushing, Chairman of the Committee on the Currency and the Board of Exchequer, rose, and said he had been directed by that committee to ask to be discharged from the further consideration of a certain petition referred to them, and

to report in part upon so much of the President's message as relates to a Board of Exchequer, with a bill. A question, not a little debated, arose, whether the report and bill should be read, and who should read them. Stanly asked what was meant by a report in part, and whether the committee proposed to report further. Cushing answered that the committee meant it as a report in part, and insisted upon his right to read it — in which he was finally gratified. The report was in a pompous, vainglorious, obsequious style; but of the character of the bill I could not judge upon a single reading. I heard enough of it, however, to satisfy me that I can never vote for it. Garret Davis then presented a counter-report for himself, part of which was read at his demand, and the reading of the rest of which was dispensed with by his consent. John P. Kennedy, another member of the committee, gave notice that he would present a minority report. The bill and reports were then referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and twenty-five hundred copies extra of the bill and three reports were ordered to be printed. J. P. Kennedy moved to include in this order the Exchequer Board report of the Secretary of the Treasury; but that was rejected. These proceedings consumed the day, and soon after three the House adjourned. Scarcely a day passes that I am not called from my seat by Northern or Western members to introduce to me strangers, their friends or constituents, of whose names or persons I can retain no memory; but I was this day amused, as well as surprised, when Lewis Steenrod came to my seat and introduced one of his constituents from Wheeling.

18th. At the House, at last, after four days for meditation by the Speaker, the journal of this morning announced James A. Meriwether, of Georgia, Robert L. Caruthers, of Lebanon, Tennessee, and Alexander H. H. Stuart, of Staunton, Virginia, as members of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the place of Mark A. Cooper, Holmes, and Chapman, excused from serving. Summers's retrenchment resolutions were called up; but Milton Brown, whose speech was left unfinished yesterday, being unwell this morning, assented to a proposition from Fillmore to take up the General Appropriation bill. John C. Clark

had, by leave, reported from the Committee on Naval Affairs a bill to establish additional ranks in the navy of the United States, and for other purposes. It proposes the ranks of admirals, vice-admirals, and rear-admirals, with corresponding compensations. The bill was twice read, and Lott Warren moved to lay it on the table. But the yeas and nays were called, the report giving the reasons for the bill was read, Warren withdrew his motion to lay it on the table, and it was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

This new-born passion of the South for the increase of the navy, this profusion of appropriations recommended and urged by the Secretary of that Department, is one of the most curious phenomena in our national history. From Jefferson's dry-docks and gunboats, to admirals, three-deckers, and war-steamers equal to half the navy of Great Britain, is more than a stride—there is a flying-fish's leap.

A number of private bills were taken up and passed, after which the House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon the Appropriation bill, Briggs in the chair. The retrenchment fever ran high. Fillmore, according to order, had struck out all items of appropriation not authorized by law. McKeon, without rhyme or reason, moved to strike out fifty thousand dollars for contingent expenses of the two Houses; and Graham, of North Carolina, moved to insert an interdict to the furnishing stationery ever hereafter to the members. There was no quorum to vote. The committee rose, and reported the fact. A call of the House produced one hundred and sixty-three answers to their names. Briggs took the chair again. Charles Brown pronounced an invective, and Wise a panegyric, upon the House—both demagogues. The committee rose, and the House adjourned.

19th. In the House, Mr. Summers's retrenchment resolutions came up, and Milton Brown, of Tennessee, concluded his speech, exposing many flagrant abuses in the misapplication of the contingent expenses of all the Departments to introduce multitudes of supernumerary clerks and other expenditures without authority of law. He was followed by Mr. Mathiot, one of the members from Ohio, hitherto a mute in the House,

now a declaimer for retrenchment. Mr. Saltonstall took the floor; but the morning hour was expiring, and Mr. Giddings called for the orders of the day.

Evening visits from Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Randall. Mrs. Randall is a daughter of the late William Wirt, and last spring wrote me a letter requesting me, in the name of the family, to write for publication a biography of her father—which request has been several times repeated, and was earnestly urged upon me by her this evening. I have the best possible disposition to undertake the task, but find it impossible, for want of time. Mrs. Randall asked me to look over his papers—which I promised.

20th. Morning visit from Mr. Charles Naylor, the predecessor of Charles J. Ingersoll, one of the Representatives in Congress from the city of Philadelphia. In the Twenty-Sixth Congress the election was furiously contested between them, and both of them were returned—Naylor first, and the seat was finally adjudged to him. There was so much not only of irregularity, but of foul corruption, in that election on both sides that it would be difficult to say which was the worst. At the election for the present Congress, Naylor declined, and Ingersoll was chosen by a majority of fifteen hundred votes. He is one of the ablest and most unprincipled men in the House. Mr. Naylor told me he had been two or three days in the city, and was now about to return home, but would not go without calling to see me. He left me to conjecture what the object of his visit to the city at this time was. I conjectured, from a somewhat dejected appearance, that it was an unsuccessful canvass for the office vacated by the death of Judge Hopkinson.

21st. At the House, this was the first day of the session upon which the rule for the reception of resolutions was carried into execution. Allen, of Maine, offered one, calling on the President to communicate to the House the present state of the negotiation of the Northeastern boundary, and all the correspondence relating thereto not heretofore communicated. Tillinghast, of Rhode Island, and Washington, of North Carolina, offered resolutions instructing the Committee on the Judiciary to consider the expediency of passing Acts supplementary and amendatory to the Bankrupt law. Stanly offered a reso-

lution to alter the one hundred and thirty-second rule so that a majority of the House may at any time fix in advance on a day for discharging the committee of the whole from the further consideration of any bill.

This is one of three amended rules adopted at the last session of Congress, the proposal of which for permanency has within a few days been agreed upon in a recent Whig caucus. The tendency of them all is to abridge debate, and I opposed them all at the late session. I voted for this one now, believing it indispensable to save the waste of time and the profligate factious opposition of the slave Democracy in the House to defeat all salutary legislation. The adoption of the resolution was by those same means defeated this day. Wise, Turney, Clifton, Proffit, John G. Floyd, and Medill baffled a constant majority of two or three by successive motions to lay on the table, for a call of the House, and to adjourn, and by taking the yeas and nays upon every question, four or five of which were alternately taken, till the flagging spirits of the Whigs were wearied and worried out, and they adjourned near four. I gave notice to all the members of the reorganized Committee of Foreign Affairs of the meeting to-morrow morning, and they all promised to attend.

22d. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger, Shepperd, Edward D. White, Caruthers, Meriwether, and Alexander H. H. Stuart—the whole reorganized committee. There was a bill from the Senate authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay several commissions instituted by treaties with Spain, France, and the Two Sicilies, the sums awarded to whom have, in whole or in part, been retained in the Treasury for debts due by the claimants to the United States. There were no papers with which to ascertain the reasons for this bill, which looked to me like a dip into the public Treasury to pay to the agents and attorneys of claimants all the money reserved to pay the debts of the claimants to the Treasury. Cushing said the agents and attorneys had a lien upon the awards—which I said was at common law called champerty. The further consideration of the bill was postponed.

Mr. Everett read his report upon the claim of Mrs. Margaret Meade, in its favor, which was also discussed and postponed.

In the House, Kennedy's minority currency report was presented, and Saltonstall immediately moved to adjourn, on account of its being Washington's birthday. It was carried by an unanimous shout. Same in the Senate. I called at the Treasury Department to enquire about the documents relating to the Smithsonian Fund promised me some weeks since. They were not yet ready; but the Chief Clerk promised again that they should be sent to me in two or three days. The Secretary, Mr. Forward, said he had wished to have some conversation with me, and was intending to call at my house; and he asked me to give him my free and candid opinion upon the state of our public affairs, and particularly of the Treasury and the revenue.

I gave him very freely my opinions, and told him there were two things which discouraged me more than all the rest: one, that the Democratic members of the House from Pennsylvania all sacrificed the interest of their State to their political alliance with the South; and the other, that President Tyler's bosom friends in the House defeated every attempt to raise a revenue sufficient to meet the expenditures of the year. He shook his head and made no answer. I asked him if besides the twelve millions loan, and the five millions Treasury notes already issued, there would not be a further deficit to be provided for before the close of the present year. He said he feared there would.

I told him that there was but one remedy—taxation, excise as well as impost, and the only alternative, bankruptcy.

23d. Committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Present, Adams, Underwood, Habersham—no quorum. Mr. Habersham told me he had received a letter from the gentleman who wrote the pretended petition, signed by twenty-eight fictitious names, from Habersham County, praying for my removal from the office of Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, who tells him that he meant it only in sport, but, as it had brought the members of the Georgia delegation into question, he felt it to be his duty to avow that he was the author of the paper,

and that it was all a fiction. In the code of slavery morality, forgery is one of the ways and means for the defence of the peculiar institutions.

As I was going up the stairs to enter the House, I met one of the pages of the House, who told me that Mr. Lewis Williams, of North Carolina, was lying at the point of death at his lodgings, Mrs. Peyton's. He died about one o'clock P.M., while the House was in session; but his death was not announced. The resolution from the retrenchment committee came up, upon which Mr. Saltonstall made a very sensible half an hour adverse speech. Briggs succeeded him, not quite so long, on the other side, and for the retrenchment of the two clerks. He was followed by Pickens, in a frothy, bombastical style, terminating in nothing. Charles Brown took him in the same line, and they rattled along like empty tin tea-kettles over heaps of stones. The General Appropriation bill soon came up, with another retrenchment debate, in which McKeon and Proffit took part.

24th. When the House met, immediately after the reading of the journal, Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina, announced the death of Lewis Williams, the father of the House, upon whom he pronounced a handsome eulogy, concluding with a motion for the usual obituary resolutions of condolence with the family, and to attend the funeral to-morrow. I seconded the motion, and in a speech of about five minutes expressed the sorrow that I felt at this sudden and melancholy bereavement. Lewis Williams was one of the best men in the House, or in the world. I was followed by William Cost Johnson, who paid a feeling tribute to the memory of his friend. The resolutions were then unanimously adopted, and the House adjourned. Rayner, immediately afterwards, came to my seat, offered me his hand, thanked me cordially for the remarks I had made, and made a frank and unqualified apology for the harsh language he used towards me on my late trial. I told him it was all forgotten. Washington, Shepperd, Stanly, and even Romulus M. Saunders, followed. Thomas J. Campbell, of Tennessee, came and asked for a copy of my remarks, for a twin brother of Lewis Williams, now Judge in Campbell's district; which I

promised him. The Speaker appointed me one of the committee of arrangements for the funeral, and the committee met, immediately after the adjournment of the House, in the Speaker's chamber. Some arrangements were made, and the committee agreed to meet there again to-morrow morning at eleven.

26th. At the House, the question was finally put on the first resolution reported by Summers from his retrenchment committee. Its object was to curtail the number of subaltern clerks in the office of the Clerk of the House, from twelve to ten. Gordon and Bowne, of the House New York Democracy, have been two or three days opposing this resolution, fearing that the discarded clerks will be of the Democracy. Gordon had moved an amendment authorizing the employment of the two additional clerks; but, being pressed as to the amount of their salaries, fifteen hundred dollars each, he modified his own amendment so as to reduce the salaries to twelve hundred dollars each. I voted against, and it was rejected; but I voted also against the resolution—which was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and forty-seven to sixteen.

The report from the Secretary of the Navy was received, communicating copies of the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry and of the Court-martial upon Captain Bolton, in answer to the resolution offered by me when on my trial. They were at my motion ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.

A message from the President was received, declining to communicate the documents showing the present state of the negotiation with Great Britain relating to the Northeastern Boundary, called for by resolution of the House of the 21st. There was a bill from the Committee of Claims for the relief of John Barnes on its passage, on which a debate was started. Roosevelt, to get rid of it, moved its recommitment to the Committee of Claims, with instructions to take the opinion of the Attorney-General on a point of law involved in it. I reminded the House of the answer of W. Wirt to a former House, which had required an opinion of the Attorney-General; and Roosevelt withdrew his motion. D. D. Barnard told me he had received a petition from his district, signed by a small

number of very respectable persons, praying for a dissolution of the Union. He said he did not know what to do with it. I urged him earnestly to present it. I dined with him. General Scott, W. S. Archer, Mr. Kerr, of Maryland, Habersham, of Georgia, and Saltonstall, were there.

28th. Henry A. Wise publishes in the National Intelligencer of this morning a long letter to William A. Graves, and a statement of circumstances attending the duel between Graves and Cilley, with the view to cast off the whole odium of it from himself upon Henry Clay. He succeeds so far as to show that Clay must share with him the odium, and he assumes for his pretext my declaration in the House, that I believed him more guilty of the blood of Cilley than the man who drew the trigger. My opinion was founded on the fact which occurred on the field, when, after two shots had been exchanged without effect, there was a parley between Wise and Jones, the seconds. Then it depended upon Wise alone to command the peace between them. He had but to say, "Gentlemen, this misunderstanding arose from words spoken by Mr. Cilley in debate, and in particular debate with me, in opposing a motion made by me. The parties have met like men of honor, and twice exposed their lives upon a punctilio. This matter must proceed no further. If Mr. Cilley hesitates to resort to the privilege of free debate, I am bound to take it to save the shedding of his blood or that of my friend." This was his duty as Graves's friend, and as a man; instead of which he broke off the truce with an insult, saying that if the next shot did not take effect he should propose to shorten the distance. He now admits that he did say so, but pleads that it was by order of Graves. He should have refused to obey such an order, fit only for a savage or a fiend.

In the House, Robert McLellan moves a call on the Secretary for a report of extra allowance to General Scott in 1838 for removing the Cherokees. W. B. Campbell moves to enlarge and dilute the call; rejected. Then motion to reconsider—which I opposed; laid on the table. General resolution finally adopted. Call for petitions, beginning from Iowa, moving south, and then east. Giddings, of Ohio, presented numerous petitions, among which one for a division between slavery and freedom. House

refuse to receive it; explosion. John P. Kennedy's mad resolution; not received. Pendleton's; objected to. He moves a suspension of the rules; bustle. Winthrop moves to adjourn; carried.

March 2d. Committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Present, Adams, Underwood, Randall—no quorum. Conversation upon the manner of canvassing votes at elections in Kentucky—treating, barbecues, small loans of one or two dollars, to be forgotten, tavern bills paid half and half by the candidates.

In the House, on the motion of Fillmore, a resolution was adopted that from and after next Wednesday the daily hour of adjournment shall be eleven o'clock A.M., till further order. But Taliaferro gave notice that he should move a reconsideration of this vote to-morrow, and if that should fail he should move that the standing committees should be discharged from the further consideration of the subjects referred to them.

A message was received from the President in answer to my call for the correspondence respecting the laws of South Carolina for the imprisonment of colored seamen. He says he is not aware of any decision by Judge William Johnson that the act of South Carolina was unconstitutional.

A memorial from Thomas Allen about the printing of the Census compendium was received, and, after much debate, referred to the Committee of Claims. A memorial from Blair and Rives on the same subject had already been referred to the same committee. A report from the Secretary of State, also relating to this knavery, was this day at first referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, but afterwards, on my motion, transferred to the Committee of Claims. There was a long and ludicrous retrenchment debate, always made so by specifications of petty parsimonies soaring to the glory of reform. The committee propose to abolish the office of Draughtsman to the House. J. G. Floyd moved to add, and that of Postmaster; then came all the appendages of the Post-Office, and an interminable discussion, renewed in committee of the whole upon the state of the Union, Briggs in the chair, on the General Appropriation bill. Briggs decided that an amendment proposed by the Chairman of the Ways and Means was

not in order; but the committee of the whole reversed his decision, and amendment crawled upon amendment till the House adjourned.

3d. Mr. Giddings came to enquire the precise extent to which I hold the subject of slavery in the States subject to the jurisdiction of the National Government; and I explained it to him. In the case of a servile war, involving the free States of the Union, the question of emancipation would necessarily be the issue of the conflict. All war must end in peace, and peace must be concluded by treaty. Of such a treaty, partial or universal emancipation would probably form an essential, and the power of the President and Senate of the United States over it would be coextensive with the war.

Mr. Radcliff came, and informed me that since his last interview with me he had received advices that the State of the Isthmus had reunited itself with the republic of New Grenada, whereby his agency for the independent State of the Isthmus had ceased.

At the House, the day was consumed in the everlasting retrenchment debate. Wise produced his project for a Government printing-press—his real object being to save the Tyler job of the Madisonian.

4th. In the National Intelligencer of this morning is published the letter of Henry Clay to the General Assembly of Kentucky, dated the 16th of last month, and resigning his seat in the Senate of the United States, to take effect from the 31st of this month. This movement is preparatory to another, by which the Whigs in Congress are to announce him as their candidate for the next Presidential election. There is in the same paper a summary of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States last week, in the case of Prigg against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, declaring null and void an Act of the Legislature of Pennsylvania and all State laws interfering with the recovery of fugitive slaves.

In the House, the resolutions of the retrenchment committee on the expenditures of the House were immediately taken up. The sixth resolution was to charge the Postmaster with contracting for horses and mail-carts; adopted. The

seventh charged the Door-keeper with the supply of fuel, oil, and candles, and forbidding the use of them by the restaurateurs attached to the House; adopted. The eighth charged the Clerk with the purchase and supply of stationery, and to keep accounts and a record of its cost.

Winthrop moved an amendment directing the Clerk to give a preference to articles of American manufacture.

Mark A. Cooper moved an amendment—provided they are equally cheap. The man-mountain called the yeas and nays on this amendment of slavery against free labor; and it was carried—ninety-eight to eighty-seven. The ninth resolution limited the supply of stationery to each member of the House to the cost of twenty-five dollars to the long, and twenty to the short session, upon which arose a storm of debate—amendment was heaped upon amendment, till the members scarcely knew what they were about. Holmes, of Charleston, South Carolina, moved that no stationery should in future be served to the members at the public expense; twice taken, by yeas and nays; first carried—ninety-eight to ninety-one; then lost—ninety-one to ninety-five. The resolution was at last adopted—one hundred and sixty-one to twenty-two; and Underwood moved a reconsideration. After which, and a resolution proposed by D. D. Barnard for the removal of the tables and desks of the members, which was not received, the House went into committee of the whole, Zadok Casey in the chair, upon private bills, a great number of which were passed upon and reported to the House. Adjourned at half-past three.

6th. On my recent trial, Thomas W. Gilmer read a part of a letter written by me in December, 1808, to Joseph Anderson, then a Senator of the United States from the State of Tennessee. Gilmer said that he had received a copy of this letter from a total stranger to him, he believed lately a Senator from the same State of Tennessee, not only with permission, but with a request that he would use it; and, accordingly, he sent it to the Clerk's table, and an extract from it was read. This farce appearing to make no impression upon the House, the next morning Wise produced and held up the letter itself, and had the same extract read again, with as little effect as before.

This evening I received a letter from J. Anderson, in Tennessee, stating that he is the executor of his father's will, but has not yet obtained possession of his papers; that the production of my letter by Mr. Gilmer was utterly disapproved by him, and that he had learnt the fact with grief, mortification, and deep indignation. So that this piece of treachery recoils upon the traitor, and is of no avail to Wise or Gilmer.

8th. Pickens came to my seat in the House yesterday morning and told me that he had received a letter from his particular friend General Alexander Anderson, a Senator from Tennessee, denying the statement made by T. W. Gilmer that he had received from him my letter to Joseph Anderson which Gilmer read in the House—declaring that he utterly disapproved of the disclosure of that letter, and requesting Pickens to publish his explicit denial of the fact that he had furnished my letter in the National Intelligencer and the Globe—which Pickens said he would immediately do. Accordingly, the letter from Alexander Anderson to Pickens, and one from Pickens to the editors of both papers, requesting them to publish it, appeared in both papers of this day.

John P. Kennedy asked me yesterday to head a list for a dinner to be given to Mr. Clay immediately after his resignation. I declined, as being superannuated for all public dinners. He said the Clay flag was then to be raised, and fire away at Tyler. I said I should ask for an exposition of their principles.

Stansbury, the reporter, brought me yesterday a hen's egg from the farm of a Mr. Hodges, in Upper Marlborough, Maryland, with "WAR, 1842," legibly inscribed on its shell. He asked me to show it as a curiosity to the Committee of Foreign Affairs—which I did at their meeting this morning, at which all the members, excepting Mr. Meriwether, of Georgia, were present. This gallinaceous prophecy is an old device. I remember it from 1775.

9th. Weekly meeting of the committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Present, Adams and Truman Smith. Habersham was in an adjoining committee-room. No quorum.

In the House, Roosevelt called in vain for the consideration of the message received yesterday from the President upon

the cravings of an empty Treasury. Halsted, by privilege preference, presented a report from the Committee of Elections, without announcing its purport or to whom it related; laid on the table, and ordered to be printed. Barnard attempted to introduce his resolution for reorganizing the hall and discarding the desks, but failed. The General Appropriation bill was resumed in committee of the whole on the Union, Briggs in the chair. McKeon offered a resolution to repeal the Land Distribution bill; but it was not received. The day was consumed in debating on the patronage of the public printing, and the contingencies of the Department of State. Caruthers, Gilmer, Fillmore, Wise, Fillmore again, Samson Mason, W. Smith, of Virginia, Cushing, and Gentry shared in this discussion, in which there was sharp-shooting between Gilmer and Wise on one side, and Fillmore on the other. Gilmer and Wise are the back-stairs viceroys over President Tyler; and they are the busiest marplots in the House to destroy the credit of the Administration and of the country. Fillmore complained, and was answered by Gilmer by frothy braggings of independence, and by Wise with overbearing insolence and insult, till the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

10th. At the House, no notice of the two messages of yesterday. The Appropriation bill was immediately taken up in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Briggs in the chair, upon amendments proposed in relation to the public printing and contingencies. In 1837 I had obtained the insertion, among the rules of the House, of one that no expenditure should be provided for in a General Appropriation bill not authorized by law. But the very next year an exception was added to the rule, for contingencies, and for the continuance of works authorized by law; and from that hour the rule has been a dead letter, and I had given up as desperate all attempt to enforce it. Some days since, Gentry, of Tennessee, moved to strike out of this bill all items of appropriation not otherwise authorized by existing law, thus falling back on my principle. This motion, after much debate, was carried by a large majority; but it has entangled the House in a snarl from

which they will find it difficult to extricate themselves. In the item of contingent expenditure in the Department of State for printing the laws in pamphlets and newspapers, Fillmore, by direction of the Committee of Ways and Means, proposed a proviso requiring the job printing to be done by contract with the lowest bidder, and Garret Davis moved an amendment that the laws should be published in the newspapers having the largest circulation. This was a cut and thrust at the Madisonian, a Tyler newspaper with about three hundred subscribers and kept alive only by the patronage of printing for the public offices. This was the stimulant of Wise's furious onset upon Fillmore yesterday, met and repelled this day by Gentry, amid numberless interruptions by Wise, and by the Chairman, Briggs, himself truckling to the overbearing temper of Wise. Gentry, Caruthers, Charles Brown, Gilmer, Everett, and Cushing took part in this debate—followed by one started by Giddings, a touch upon slavery, which set all the South in a flame, till the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

Mr. Nathaniel Tallmadge, one of the Senators from New York, came into the House with Charles Dickens, and called me out from my seat and introduced him to me. I dined with Robert C. Winthrop and John P. Kennedy. They went expressly to Dickens's lodgings at Fuller's to prevail on him to come and dine with them; but he was at dinner, and they did not see him. William S. Archer, Millard Fillmore, Pearce, of Maryland, Mrs. S. P. Gardner, Mr. and Mrs. F. C. Lowell, were of the party. Mrs. Winthrop did not appear till after dinner.

11th. The Intelligencer of this morning contains the letter of Joshua R. Giddings to the Legislature of Ohio in answer to their infamous, factious resolutions of censure upon me for presenting the Haverhill petition.

In the House, Wise offered a resolution for a select committee of five to consider and report upon the expediency and propriety of separating the patronage of the Government from the private and political press, and on the best mode of effecting that purpose; adopted, without opposition. So was a resolution offered by Joseph R. Ingersoll, instructing the Judiciary Committee to enquire into the expediency of reporting a

bill for selecting juries in States where obstacles are interposed by the local laws.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Briggs in the chair. General Appropriation bill. Stanly moved to strike out the item of appropriation for the salary of the First Auditor of the Treasury and his clerks. Jesse Miller, of Pennsylvania, is the Auditor; and in the report of Wise's committee of investigation into the Swartwout defalcation, Miller was charged with culpable negligence and incompetency in not discovering Swartwout's embezzlements. Stanly modified his motion, to strike out only the Auditor's own salary, and sent to the Clerk a speech of Proffit's, made two years ago, vehemently denouncing the Van Buren Administration for retaining Miller in office.

A ludicrous debate now followed between Proffit, Charles Brown, Wise, and John C. Clark, succeeded by John G. Floyd. Underwood, Gordon, Arnold, and Holmes, of South Carolina, in which Proffit boasted that his speech had elected half the Whigs in the House, and Charles Brown said Ogle's speech had elected the other half. Linn, of New York, finally took the floor; the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

14th. Visits from Mr. Granger and Mr. Philip Hone, and afterwards three delegates from the merchants of New York, Aspinwall, Newbold, and Fitch, to represent the disreputable and discredited state of the Government and country, and to urge the action of Congress to redeem the credit of the nation. They said that the notes and engagements of the country have been protested at New York, and are at a discount of one and a half per cent.

At the House, D. D. Barnard, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported a bill to provide for the selection and return of jurors for the Courts of the United States, where they have not been able to conform the designation and empanelling in substance to the local laws and usage. This bill, of deeper import in its bearing upon the laws of the States than the House was aware of, was driven through without discussion by the suspension of the rules, and by three several previous questions.

Cave Johnson presented petitions for the repeal of the Bankrupt law, and moved their reference to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to report forthwith a bill to suspend the operation of the Act till the 3d of March next. Chittenden moved to lay the motion on the table; lost—eighty to ninety-six. Previous question called; lost—eighty-one to eighty-seven; no second, and the motion lies over for debate.

Morgan presented a petition praying, as an alternative, the rescinding of the twenty-first rule, or the dissolution of the Union; not received.

Barnard presented a petition for the dissolution of the Union, and moves its reference to a select committee, with instructions to report adversely to its prayer. Question upon reception. Briggs proposes to debate; it lies over.

Dinner at Boulanger's to Charles Dickens; to which I was invited by Aaron Ward. G. M. Keim presided. M. St. Clair Clarke, Vice-President. J. E. Holmes; Sutton, a reporter; Roosevelt; French; Robert Tyler. Toasts; speeches; songs. It was near midnight when I came home.

15th. Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger, Shepperd, E. T. White, Caruthers, and A. H. H. Stuart; absent, Meriwether only—indisposed. Mr. Shepperd was authorized to report to the House the Senate bill for paying out from the Treasury commissions to the agents and attorneys of claimants under the French, Spanish, and Neapolitan Treaties, with a limitary amendment; and Everett was authorized to report the bill in favor of the claim of Margaret Meade.

Mr. Everett's plan for reducing the number of diplomatic missions abroad was taken up and read. Cushing started an objection to the consideration of the subject, denying the right of the committee to consider anything not referred to them by the House. I then moved that the Chairman be instructed to move in the House the reference to the committee again of the resolution of 29th August last, proposing a reduction of the diplomatic missions abroad; upon which the committee made no report at the extra session. Cushing's objection was overruled; supported only by his own vote.

The instruction was given, and I made the motion in the House immediately after the reading of the journal. Cushing objected. I moved a suspension of the rules to enable me to make the motion. Cushing cavilled and quibbled upon the points of order; which the Speaker decided against him. He called the motion for reference a report, and argued that no committee could report upon anything not referred to them by the House. Yorke moved the previous question. The yeas and nays were called, and were one hundred and seventy-three to six for the reference. I notified the members of the committee to meet next Thursday morning at ten.

17th. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger, E. D. White, Caruthers, Shepperd, and A. H. H. Stuart; absent, Meriwether. Everett moved that the Chairman be requested to confer with the Secretary of State on the subject of the resolution of the House adopted on Tuesday, looking to the diminution of the number of the diplomatic missions abroad. Cushing demanded that Everett's motion should be reduced to writing—which was done; and then Cushing moved a substitute, that the Chairman address a communication in writing to the Secretary of State on the subject. After some discussion, Cushing's substitute was rejected and Everett's motion adopted.

Cushing then offered a written resolution, that in future the proceedings of the committee should be conducted, as far as practicable, by the rules of the House. This produced another debate, consuming all the remnant of time till the meeting of the House—Granger voting at last with Cushing, and all the other members present against his resolution.

When the committee adjourned, I asked Cushing what motive he had for this course of proceeding with me, and found him sore upon trifles lighter than air for pretexts, but really because I am Chairman of the committee, and because I exposed the tampering of the slave-trade majority of the committee with him, which he himself had made known to me. He has got himself into trouble, and makes desperate plunges to get out of it.

In the House, Pickens wanted some notice in the journal of

yesterday of the manner in which the committee of the whole on the state of the Union laid aside the General Appropriation bill and took up the Loan bill; but the Speaker said the journal never took notice of anything that took place in committee of the whole.

18th. I called on the Secretary of State, and left with him a copy of the resolution of the House of 29th August, 1841, looking to a reduction of the number of the diplomatic missions abroad, and the tabular statement of specific deductions proposed by Horace Everett. Mr. Webster manifested a very warm disposition for economy and retrenchment in the abstract, but an equally warm aversion to any specific reduction. After sufficient conversation with him to ascertain his propensities, I told him I should, in the course of the day, address a letter to him referring to the resolution of the House, and requesting in behalf of the Committee of Foreign Affairs his view upon the subject as early as he could conveniently make it, that it might be in time for consideration on the passage of the General Appropriation bill. I spoke to him also about a claim of allowance of a charge in an account of David Porter, Minister Resident at Constantinople, which he himself had referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, but of which he evidently knew nothing; and I mentioned to him information I had received of an angry correspondence between the British Consul and ours, upon a charge against a captain of an American vessel of having sold at the Havanna three colored seamen whom he had shipped at the Cape de Verd Islands as freemen.

Mr. Webster conveyed to me ambiguously the idea that this was entirely new information to him, and that he knew nothing about it. I saw clearly that he did know what he did not choose to tell me. He said he had received yesterday dispatches from our Consul at the Havanna, James S. Calhoun, but had not yet read them. He took up a letter upon his table, and read in silence some part of it, and then laid it down, and said nothing. He sent me back this evening the resolution of the House and H. Everett's tabular statements, and I sent him the letter requesting his views for the consideration of the committee.

At the House, Triplett moved a call upon the Secretary of the Navy to state what saving of cost there would be made by abolishing the Board of Navy Commissioners. Thompson, of Mississippi, made an indignation sally against Morgan, of New York, for presenting last Monday a petition to Congress to assume the debt of the State of Mississippi and to eject that State from the Union. Morgan slipped it in without exciting the notice of the slave-holding members, and Thompson and Gwin, the representatives from the State, only discovered it by the newspapers.

Fillmore moves to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon the Loan bill. Giddings takes the yeas and nays in behalf of private business—eighty-three for the committee to eighty-two, Ward in the chair. Gordon replies to Marshall and Stanly; Milton Brown to Gordon. Andrew Kennedy and Proffit, with a flourish of trumpets and a general scolding bout against the Whigs. No quorum. Committee rise, and John G. Floyd moves to adjourn; lost—sixty to ninety-one. Committee again; Proffit till past four. Adjourn.

19th. The meeting of the committee on the Smithsonian bequest was fixed for ten this morning, but it was eleven when I reached the chamber of the committee, and found there Underwood, Habersham, Truman Smith, Benjamin Randall, and Charles J. Ingersoll; absent, Bowne, Houston, and Hunter. Of my tardiness I failed not to be reminded. We took up the old bill and debated it from the third to the sixth section inclusive. Every provision of every section was contested, and the only sound principle settled was that the principal sum of the bequest should be preserved unimpaired as a perpetual fund, from which no appropriation shall be made.

Habersham, of Georgia, opposed the parts of the bill providing for the establishment of an astronomical observatory. His argument was the danger and difficulty of carrying it through Congress; and he said that only yesterday one of the members from the South urged, in conversation with him, that Congress had no constitutional power to accept the bequest, and that the money ought to be sent back to England.

I saw the finger of John C. Calhoun and of nullification, and

said that the objection against the power of Congress to accept the bequest would not be removed by striking out the observatory; that Mr. Calhoun and his coadjutors had urged it from the beginning, and it had been time after time settled against them; that any application of the fund to the purposes of the testator would be resisted by them, and if anything was to be done it must be carried against their stubborn opposition. Adjourned to Monday morning at ten.

21st. Meeting of the committee on the Smithsonian bequest, at ten A.M. I was punctual to the minute, but waited more than half an hour for a quorum. Present, Adams, Underwood, Truman Smith, Habersham, R. Randall, and C. J. Ingersoll; absent, Bowne, Houston, and Hunter. We discussed the remainder of the old bill, from the sixth section through. Every one had amendments to propose, and the bill was thoroughly riddled. Many amendments were adopted, and I was directed to prepare an amended bill for the consideration of the committee at the adjournment, Wednesday morning.

The question upon Stanly's resolution, giving the House power by a majority to take at discretion any bill out of the committee of the whole, after several attempts to evade it, was finally carried—one hundred and five to ninety-nine.

In the call for resolutions, Andrews, of Kentucky, moved an enquiry of the President and heads of Departments for the names of all the members of Congress, who have applied for offices by themselves or their friends, of the Twenty-Fifth or Twenty-Sixth Congresses, and specifying the office applied for in each case.

Giddings, of Ohio, offered a series of resolutions relating to slavery and the Creole case. Ward moved the previous question. Everett moved to lay them on the table; lost, by yeas and nays—fifty-three to one hundred and twenty-five. Everett moved a call of the House; refused. After much turbulence and confusion, Giddings withdrew the resolutions.

Botts then moved a suspension of the rules to offer a preamble and resolution of censure upon Giddings; yeas, one hundred and twenty-eight; nays, sixty-eight; not two-thirds. Weller, of Ohio, then offered the same resolution, it being still

the turn of the States, and he moved the previous question. The question whether Giddings should be heard in his defence was unsettled at the adjournment.

22d. I attended the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. All the members present, except Mr. Meriwether. I reported the substance of the verbal conference with Mr. Webster which I had last Friday, and read a copy of the letter which I wrote and sent to him that evening, and to which I have not yet received an answer. I told them that he did not think it expedient to diminish any of the missions at the present time, though he thought there might hereafter be an improvement of the system by uniting several missions in one person.

In the House, the resolution of censure upon Giddings, with a preamble first moved yesterday by Botts, then moved by Weller, moving at the same time the previous question, was taken up, and, after two full hours of twistings, decisions by the Speaker reversed by the House, motions that he should have permission to be heard in his defence, by reconsideration, by suspension of the rules, by general consent, the resolution of censure was actually passed, by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty-five to sixty-nine; and then the preamble was adopted—one hundred and nineteen to sixty-six.

I can find no language to express my feelings at the consummation of this act. Immediately after the second vote, Giddings rose from his seat, came over to mine, shook cordially my hand, and took leave. I had a voice only to say, "I hope we shall soon have you back again." He made no reply, but passed to the seats of other members, his friends, and took leave of them as he had done of me. I saw him shake hands with Arnold, who voted against him. He then left the House, and this evening the city.

23d. I reached the committee-room at ten o'clock. Present, Adams, Randall, Habersham, T. Smith, Underwood, and, just as the committee were adjourning, Ingersoll. The remainder of the old bill was thoroughly debated, and additional amendments were proposed. I was finally directed to prepare a bill and then call a meeting of the committee.

In the House, upwards of two hours were consumed in

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debating sundry amendments proposed to the journal of the proceedings of yesterday; among the rest, my appeal from the decision of the Speaker, that the previous question cut off from Mr. Giddings his right of self-defence, was not noticed on the journal, though it was correctly reported in the National Intelligencer of this morning. I moved an amendment of the journal, stating the fact of the Speaker's denying my appeal. I called the yeas and nays, which were forty-two to one hundred and ten; but the facts are now stated on the journal of this day. The other motions to amend the journal were laid on the table. Wise withdrew his proposed amendment stating the fact that he had refused to vote on the resolution of censure. Everett offered a resolution that five thousand copies of the proceedings of the House in relation to the resolutions offered by Giddings, should be printed for the use of the House. Laid on the table. Everett asked to be allowed to explain his censure of Giddings; not allowed.

The Speaker presented a letter from Joshua R. Giddings, resigning his seat in the House. I moved that the Speaker notify the Executive of the State of Ohio of the vacancy occasioned by this resignation; which he said should be done.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Ward in the chair, on the Loan bill. Wise moved to repeal the Land Distribution bill. Fillmore makes it a point of order. Ward pronounces it in order. Committee rises for lack of a quorum, and the House adjourns.

24th. At the House, some heaving of the billows after the storm remained. I moved a suspension of the rules to enable me to offer a resolution to add a new rule, that no accused member should, by the operation of the previous question or of any other rule, be deprived of the right of being heard in his defence. The vote to suspend the rules was ninety-nine to seventy-seven.

In committee of the whole on the state of the Union, the Loan bill was debated, but not reported to the House; dull balderdash of Colquitt and Mark A. Cooper, and sharp-shooting between Wise and Fillmore. Thomas F. Marshall took the floor, committee rose, and the House adjourned.

25th. Mr. Everett presented to me yesterday a paper signed by several members, requesting a meeting of the Whig members from the non-slave-holding States at ten this morning, in the chamber of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. I declined signing the call, acknowledging no party communion with the Whigs of the slave representation; but I said I would attend the meeting. I went, accordingly, to the chamber of the committee precisely at ten this morning, and found there Mr. Everett, who informed me that the meeting was postponed for a few days, at the special request of the Whig delegation from Ohio.

And thus ends this project of a meeting. I remained in the chamber till the meeting of the House, intending to finish the draft of the bill for the consideration of the committee on the Smithsonian bequest; but several members successively came in to attend the proposed meeting, and Winthrop first, and afterwards Granger, stopped and held some conversation with me. Granger believes there is dissension among the members of the Administration; and there is a rumor to that effect in circulation.

I made little progress in the draft of the bill, but found the House in session. Calvary Morris, of Ohio, had offered resolutions censuring the proceedings of the House in their censure of Giddings, but could not obtain even the yeas and nays upon his motion to suspend the rules. Hopkins offered a resolution to suspend the engraving of a map of the boundary line between the United States and Texas, to have the work done by the engraver for the Senate; and carried that resolution. Botts also obtained a suspension of the rules, and carried the resolution of enquiry which he has been several days pressing.

Fillmore offered a resolution to cease debate on the Loan bill in committee, and to take it into the House next Wednesday at two o'clock; carried—one hundred and fourteen to seventy-six.

Private business superseded for committee of the whole upon the state of the Union, Ward in the chair. Marshall made a long, premeditated speech in defence of the Committee of Ways and Means, of which he is a member, against the charges

of Wise. While he was speaking, a message came in from the President, recommending the repeal of the Land bill and a revision of the tariff. When Marshall finished, Wise took the floor, and for an hour and a half poured out a flood of abuse upon Fillmore, reserving Marshall for to-morrow. The committee rose about half-past four, and the House adjourned. Mr. Sprague and Mr. Robbins were in the House.

26th. Mr. Sprague and Mr. Robbins called on me this morning, and said they were desirous of having some conversation concerning the duties on cordage to be fixed on the revisal of the tariff. But the conversation immediately became general concerning the present aspect of affairs in Congress and in the country, which is deplorable. I told them that slavery, the support, the perpetuation, and the propagation of slavery, was at the root of the whole system of policy of the present Administration; that an essential part of this system was hostility to the manufactures and to the free labor of the North; that this spirit, in alliance with the mock Democracy of the free States, exercises now absolute control over the majority of both Houses of Congress, and, if unable to carry all its purposes into execution now, will at least defeat every measure which could contribute to promote the manufacturing interest or the domestic industry of free labor. Of Mr. Sprague's opinions I had been partially apprised, and from his disclosure of them at this interview I perceive that his visit to Washington at this time has other objects in view besides the duty upon cordage.

Mr. Uzzielli is an Italian philosophical traveller from Leghorn, who last summer brought me a letter of introduction from Mr. De Tocqueville, at Paris, and who now brought me one from Alexander H. Everett, dated the 5th of this month, at New Orleans. Since the summer, Mr. Uzzielli has travelled over a great part of the United States, and he proposes to complete his tour so as to return to Europe next July. He appears sensible and candid; and I had a free confidential conversation with him on our present financial and political condition.

It was one of the days devoted by the rules of the House

to private business, but they went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Ward in the chair, on the Loan bill. Wise resumed the floor, and delivered four hours and a half of unmeasured, bitter, rancorous invective upon Fillmore, Marshall, and the whole body of the manifesto Whigs. He was suffered to go on without call to order, and with scarce a word of interruption, till just upon five, when he sat down, and at least thirty members started up. The Speaker gave the floor to Gentry, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

29th. I attended, at ten this morning, the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. All the members present except Mr. Meriwether; but two or three were belated an hour or more, and Cushing came in as the committee were about to adjourn.

The resolution of enquiry into the expediency of reducing the number of diplomatic misssions abroad was considered. No answer had been received from the Secretary of State to my letter of enquiry, and some sensibility was manifested at the delay.

Mr. Everett said that with the verbal information from me of the aversion of the Secretary of State to any reduction, he should not press the further consideration of his tabular statement, nor mark any one particular mission for suppression; but he moved that the Chairman be directed to prepare a report to the House—which was adopted.

In the House there was adopted, at my motion, a resolution for the sending of all petitions to the Clerk's table to be disposed of by the Speaker, and all admissible under the rule to be referred to the appropriate committees. Committee of the whole on the State of the Union, Ward in the chair, upon the Loan bill. Colquitt, Shields, William Smith, Cushing, in reply to the speakers of yesterday, and McKeon. At eight o'clock Atherton took the floor; the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

30th. At the House, committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Ward in the chair, on the Loan bill. Atherton occupied the floor, from twelve to two, with snarling sophistication, repeated by rote from Woodbury. The Chairman's

hammer then knocked him down. Two hours were consumed in the rejection of silly, captious amendments, and the bill was reported to the House. After a short exposition from Fillmore, W. Cost Johnson moved the previous question, and the House adjourned.

31st. At the House, the reports of sundry committees were received, among which one from L. Saltonstall, Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures, with a tariff bill, which was read twice, referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed, with the report, counter-report, and documents, and five thousand extra copies. Habersham and A. V. Brown make the minority report. Then Clifford's call of the House came up, and one hundred and ninety-six members answered. Previous question on the engrossment of the Land bill. The principal amendment reported by the committee, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell the stock of the loan under par, was lost, by yeas and nays —ninety-seven to ninety-nine. The other amendments were carried by majorities of eight or more. Before the vote on the engrossment of the bill was taken, two of the Whigs, who had voted against the vital amendment, were rallied back to their party, and then there was a whimsical perplexity how they should reverse their own decision. They were compelled first to pass the engrossment, then to reconsider that, then to reconsider the vote rejecting the amendment, and then to adopt the amendment by ninety-nine to ninety-seven, two votes changing the majority. The bill finally passed—one hundred and five to eighty-seven.

Sundry Executive communications were received. Arnold moved a reconsideration of the vote passing the bill, to prevent its being successfully made on the other side, and it was rejected. Adjourned at four.

Henry Clay delivered a formal valedictory speech, and resigned his seat in the Senate.

April 2d. The committee of the whole had risen yesterday upon a motion to report a multitude of bills, but leaving them in committee for want of a quorum to report them. This morning the House went into committee of the whole for the

sole purpose of reporting them. They were reported, and the day was consumed in carrying them through the stages of engrossment and enactment, save one, which was rejected, by yeas and nays—sixty to sixty-five. This was dull pastime, and I made the experiment of doing something else while the routine of private legislation was dragging through. I accordingly continued the draft of a bill for the Smithsonian bequest committee, with a hope to finish it on Monday, and I ascertained that I might, with suitable industry, perform the work of two hours' writing in my seat, upon business other than that before the House, every day upon which I take no part in the debate, and yet give all necessary attention to the current business.

A day or two after the censure upon Giddings, there were in the National Intelligencer some editorial remarks disapproving the proceedings of the House in that case. Some days after, an article appeared written by Botts, signed "A Member," justifying the action of the House and complaining of the editorial comments. In the Intelligencer of this morning there is an article in reply to that of Botts, and signed "Another Member," so well written that I was desirous of ascertaining its author. Gates and Slade alternately charged it upon each other; but Gates afterwards found that it was Hiland Hall.

Another disclosure appears in the Anti-Slavery Standard of 31st March, that Saltonstall was the member of Congress who chilled the ardor of the Massachusetts Legislature for my defence by a seasonable hint that it might cloud the prospects of the Massachusetts claim, upon which Preston, of South Carolina, is the reporter to the Senate.

3d. I attended the morning public worship at the Capitol, in the expectation of hearing Mr. Maffitt's fourth sermon upon the divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ—instead of which, Dr. Eliphalet Nott, President of the Methodist Union College of Schenectady, New York, preached from Matthew xvi. 26: "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" It is impossible for two men to preach the same

gospel with means and manners more different than those of Mr. Maffitt and of Dr. Nott. The discourse this day was argumentative, accumulative, figurative, progressive, full of complication and of pathos, apparently extemporaneous, but deeply studied, strictly methodical, and repeated by heart, without notes—a definition of the soul; a contrasted view of the finite and the infinite, of time and eternity; remarks upon the progressive nature of the soul, from infancy to decrepitude and death; or perhaps that this progress continues after death through endless ages—not likely; something about cherubim and seraphim, Michael, Uriel, Gabriel, and Raphael—mysterious personages. The Doctor opened an account current between the soul and the whole world, and struck a balance infinite in amount in favor of the soul, proving the exchange between them worse than that between Virginia bank bills and standard gold.

Mr. Maffitt announced that he should preach his sermon on the humanity of Christ next Sunday.

As we were returning home, we met a carriage laden with two travelling trunks, part of the baggage of Lord Ashburton, once Alexander Baring, who arrived last evening in the Warspite from England, whence he now comes, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, upon a special mission.

4th. Attended, at ten this morning, the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Everett, Stuart, Shepperd, Caruthers, and, just as the committee were about to adjourn, Cushing. They had but one hour, for from this day forward the daily hour of the meeting of the House is eleven.

The answer of the Secretary of State to my letter of enquiry was discussed. I moved that the Chairman be directed to report the answer itself, with the simple addition that they deem it inexpedient to propose any diminution of the appropriations for the diplomatic service of the present year.

The committee were, however, not satisfied with this. They appeared disposed to scrutinize further, and to call for specific reasons for the continuance of each separate mission.

It was finally agreed that the Chairman should confer verbally again with the Secretary of State, and ask some explanation

of apparent assumptions in his answer which were considered of questionable accuracy.

Cushing observed that the increase of expenditures in the diplomatic department had been much less than in all the others, and that the suppressions of diplomatic missions were not promotive of much economy, as they usually gave rise to a claim for diplomatic compensation to Consuls. The committee adjourned to meet again to-morrow morning.

At the House, it was the day for the reception of resolutions, but Joseph R. Ingersoll, a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, in behalf of Fillmore, the Chairman, who is deaf, moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union; which was carried, Thompson, of Indiana, in the chair. Cushing moved to take up his Exchequer bill; but the committee preferred to resume the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill. Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, resumed the debate on Owsley's motion to strike out the item of fifteen hundred dollars for a secretary to the President to sign patents. The amendment was rejected. Boardman, Chairman of the Committee of Public Buildings, moved sundry amendments, some of which were adopted and others rejected.

Willis Green moved to strike out the items for the branch mints at Charlotte, North Carolina, Dahlonega, Georgia, and New Orleans, Louisiana. Green withdrew his motion, but it was renewed by Garret Davis, and started a fiery debate, in which Green, W., Morgan, Caldwell, and Graham, of North Carolina, Moore, of Louisiana, Black and Habersham, of Georgia, battled for the mints, Everett, slily, for and against them, till T. W. Gilmer took the floor. No quorum. Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

I finished my draft of the bill for the Smithsonian bequest committee, and added five new sections for their consideration.

Lord Ashburton arrived this day.

5th. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger, Stuart, Shepperd, and Caruthers; absent, Meriwether and E. D. White. The resolution of enquiry whether Cornelius P. Van Ness has received, as heretofore Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain, more money than

he was lawfully entitled to from the Treasury, was taken up, and largely discussed. His recent letter to me as Chairman of the committee was at last read, but no question upon it was taken, and the committee adjourned over to Thursday morning.

In the House, I notified all the members of the committee on the Smithsonian bequest, excepting Mr. Bowne, who is absent, to attend a meeting to-morrow morning; and I gave to Mr. Underwood to read the five additional sections, which complete my plan for the establishment of the institution and the provision of a fund for the erection and perpetual support of an astronomical observatory upon a scale equal to that of any one upon earth. He doubted the expediency of including them in the present bill, for fear of alarming the House, but cordially approved of my whole plan.

On entering the House, I found Edward J. Black, of Georgia, driving furiously, according to his usual custom, for leave to introduce a resolution for the appointment of a special committee to enquire into the expediency of authorizing the Governor of Georgia to call out the militia of the State, to be paid at once, ad libitum, from the Treasury of the United States, to protect the people of Georgia bordering on Florida from the Indians and from the troops of the United States. Black kept the House a full half-hour in a stew, pushing for a suspension of the rules to enable him to offer this resolution, Joseph R. Ingersoll all the time urging a motion to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, which at last prevailed, without quieting Black.

Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, was Chairman, and the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill was resumed. Gilmer made a short, dull speech for abolishing the branch mints, to which Habersham replied. The motion to strike out the item was rejected. Medill, of Ohio, moved to strike out the item for the salary of Doty, Governor of the Territory of Wisconsin, and produced hand-bills containing resolutions of Whig meetings and journals of legislative councils charging Doty with numerous malversations. I opposed this motion, and brought up C. J. Ingersoll for the sole purpose of bating me. I disdained to reply to him. Everett did, taking care also to dissent

from me. But the motion of Medill obtained not more than thirty votes. The committee rose soon after three, for lack of a quorum, and the House adjourned against my earnest protestation.

6th. Committee on the Smithsonian bequest. Present, Adams, Underwood, Truman Smith, Benjamin Randall, and C. J. Ingersoll; absent, Habersham, Houston, Bowne, and Hunter. I was authorized to present to the House the draft of the bill which I had prepared, together with the five additional sections, with one other, to dispose of the surplus income from the principal fund, beyond the thirty thousand dollars a year for ten years from the 1st of September, 1838, appropriated by the bill, and with the bill a report.

In the House, I found Black, of Georgia, driving again for a suspension of the rules to enable him to offer a resolution for a select committee to enquire into the expediency of making an appropriation for the Governor of Georgia to call out and employ the militia of the State for the protection of the border people of Georgia against the Florida Indians and the United States troops. Black's proposal was so revolting that it was clear he could not obtain a suspension of the rules; whereupon his colleague Lott Warren, a Whig, a popular and liberal but shrewd man, moved, and carried, by yeas and nays, a suspension of the rules to offer a resolution substantially the same, but divided into two parts—setting in front a call of enquiry upon the Secretary of War, and lurking behind it a reference to the Military Committee of the proposal to appropriate money for the Governor of Georgia to call out the militia.

I voted for the suspension of the rules; but when the resolution was received, I exposed Warren's ingenuity, and moved to strike out the second half of his resolution, which was like the two bulbs of a goose's gizzard. My motion was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and eighteen to fifty-one—and the call of enquiry upon the Secretary of War passed without opposition.

Committee of the whole on the State of the Union, Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, in the chair. At Wise's motion, a Senate bill appropriating two hundred and fifty thousand dol-

lars for the building and equipment of an iron war steamer was first taken up, and, without opposition or proposal of amendment, laid aside to be reported to the House; and then the General Appropriation bill was resumed, and some progress in it made. Cross, of Arkansas, moved a proviso that five hundred dollars should be withheld from the salary of every Judge of the Supreme Court for every failure to attend at any term of a Circuit Court within his District. This started a debate of nearly two hours, in which Cross and Thompson, of Mississippi, vehemently denounced Judge McKinley for total neglect to attend for several years past the Circuit Courts in the States of Mississippi and of Arkansas. The Judge was earnestly defended by Gwin, the other member from Mississippi; and Roosevelt, Pope, Samson Mason, Barnard, and I took part in the debate. Cross finally withdrew his motion. Not long after, Thompson moved an addition of two hundred dollars to the salary of the Marshal in Mississippi; and on taking the question, there was found no quorum voting. It was just two o'clock. The committee rose, and reported the fact to the House. Landaff W. Andrews, of Kentucky, an honest, prejudiced, hot-headed man, who always moves by impulses, and whose wild stare always denotes excitement, moved a call of the House, and declared that he would carry it through; and he did carry it through. Two hours and a half were consumed in the operation. One hundred and two members were reported absent, after the first and second call of the names, the closing of the doors, and the call for excuses; twenty-eight were brought in ostensibly in the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, called to account for their absence, and admitted to their seats on payment of the Marshal's fees; most of the excuses were that they had gone home to dinner; twenty-four were excused without payment of fees, almost all pleading indisposition.

Mr. Barnard moved and urged a suspension of all further proceedings before the call of the members to account; and he made some just observations upon the harshness of the whole proceeding—which I admitted, and said, if he would move to relinquish all compulsive measures upon calls of the

House, I might vote with him; but, as this was the first instance in ten years since I had a seat in the House of a compulsive call at noonday, and as it had been made necessary by several successive days, when committees of the whole have been broken up and the House obliged to adjourn for want of a quorum, I hoped the process would be carried through. The names of the delinquent members would be published in the newspapers to-morrow, and I hoped it would secure a quorum for the future, at least through the middle of the day, for the transaction of business.

Andrews finally moved a resolution that all absentees who had not answered should be fined the amount of the Sergeant-at-Arms' fees, subject to the release of their fine on appearing hereafter and giving satisfactory reasons for their absence. It was about five when the House adjourned.

7th. Mr. Sprague called on me this morning and left with me a copy of a memorial to Congress from manufacturers of cordage in Massachusetts, concerning the duties on hemp and cordage, with a statement of the price of Russian hemp and cordage, and of Manilla hemp. He gave me his views upon the proposed duties on these two articles in the Tariff bill recently reported by Mr. Saltonstall, Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures.

He also spoke of the omission of the joint committee in the Massachusetts Legislature to report upon the resolution instructing them to enquire into the outrage upon me in my recent trial here; he was a member of that committee, and said that their reason for not reporting was that after the whole subject had been laid on the table here they thought no expression of opinion there was necessary for my personal support, and that a strong resolution might produce excitement and alienation at the South, which it would be prudent to avoid; but that the approbation of my conduct was universal, and it was in contemplation to nominate me for the office of Governor of the Commonwealth for the next year.

I said that having nine years ago consented, sorely against my own inclination, to have my name presented as a candidate for the office of Governor of Massachusetts, and a majority of

the people having decided against me, I had no reason to expect they would be more favorable to me now, and should not suffer their suffrages to be asked for me again.

Sprague told me that Saltonstall said to *him* that he did not recollect having written to Massachusetts that if the Massachusetts Legislature should pass a resolution countenancing me, the Massachusetts claim here would suffer for it, Mr. Preston having charge of it in the committee of the Senate, and that care should be taken not to offend him.

Sprague kept me at home till it was half-past ten before I reached the Committee of Foreign Affairs. I found Everett, Shepperd, Stuart, and Caruthers, waiting for me to make a quorum. Absent, Granger, Cushing, White, and Meriwether. I was directed to report the Senate bill for the relief of the legal representatives of Aaron Vail, without amendment.

In the House, I got the War Steamer bill reported from the committee of the whole on the state of the Union to the House. General Appropriation bill. C. J. Ingersoll moves to strike out one hundred thousand dollars from the item of expenditures for the Judicial Courts, and carries it. Committee rose, and the House adjourned, at four.

8th. I went to the Department of State, where I was first told that the Senators from Massachusetts and Maine were in conference with the Secretary. I went into the chamber of the Chief Clerk, Fletcher Webster, and was soon after admitted to the Secretary himself. I told him that the Committee of Foreign Affairs wished something more explicit and specific with regard to the expediency of discontinuing or reducing the rank of sundry particular missions abroad than was contained in his last letter to me. I said there was also some question in the committee upon the principle assumed in his letter, that it was to be presumed that all estimates of appropriations proposed by the heads of Departments were, upon deliberations of the Executive, deemed necessary; that it was supposed the practice had been to make up the estimates of each year from the appropriations of the preceding year, without special investigation of the items which might be curtailed; and I referred him to the case of the missions to Sweden and

Holland, reduced in 1818 by the paring down of the appropriations presented by the estimates of the Department. And I found among the books of the Department my letter to Jonathan Russell of 22d May, 1818, announcing the extinction of his mission, and his answer of 26th September, 1818.

Mr. Webster finally told me that between this time and next Monday morning he would write me another letter on the subject. This conference detained me so that it was within a quarter of twelve o'clock when I reached the House. I found Milton Brown, of Tennessee, addressing the House on a privileged question concerning himself. In the debate on Summers's retrenchment resolutions, Milton Brown had made a severe speech on the abuse practised by some of the members of Congress in appropriating to themselves excessive quantities of stationery — whereupon Charles Brown, the Philadelphia demagogue, told a story of an enormous mass of stationery having been left one day during the extra session at his lodgings, which he had not ordered, and knew not whence it came; but the next day the Post-Office messenger came and took it, and said it had been left there by mistake, but was for Mr. Milton Brown, of Tennessee. This sneaking and spiteful innuendo Milton Brown had passed over without notice at the time; and it had not been noticed in the next day's reported debates, either in the Intelligencer or in the Globe. But Charles had afterwards published his speech, with all its dirty imputations, in the Globe, which Milton Brown had not seen, nor heard of, until he received, a few days since, a letter from one of his friends and constituents, informing him that this story was circulating all over his district, and was raising such an outcry against him that it was indispensable that he should encounter and repel the charge. He therefore produced a certificate from McCormick, the Postmaster, that the stationery furnished him at the extra session had been unusually small; and from the messenger who had left by mistake at Charles Brown's lodgings the parcel which had swollen so enormously in his narrative, that it consisted only of half a ream of letter-paper, without wafers, sealing-wax, or any other articles. Milton Brown, after thus disculpating himself from the charge, emitted

some sparks of indignation upon the slander; which Charles Brown very ungraciously retracted.

The question upon the passage of the Iron War Steamer bill had been taken by yeas and nays, and carried by one hundred and twenty-nine to thirty-one, before I came into the House. The General Appropriation bill then followed, and Mark A. Cooper moved to strike out the item of one hundred thousand dollars for the survey of the coast. This raised something of a debate; but the survey was now vigorously maintained, and even Cushing had discovered its utility and importance.

There was a blow-up between Kennedy, of Indiana, and Holmes, of South Carolina, about a service of plate given by the Corporation of the city of New York to Lieutenant Gedney, of the United States Navy, and another, between Proffit and Fessenden, of Maine, about the item of appropriation for the survey of the Northeastern Boundary. Past four, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

9th. Mr. John A. Brown, who called upon me last evening, told me that he was, and had been from the beginning, President of the suffrage party in Rhode Island. The political right of suffrage, by the charter of Charles the Second, which they have hitherto retained as a State Constitution, is confined almost entirely to freeholders. Last autumn, by an irregular popular movement, a Convention of delegates from self-constituted meetings formed and published a State Constitution upon the principle of universal suffrage. The Legislature then authorized by law another Convention to prepare a Constitution enlarging the right of suffrage, but not making it universal. It was recently submitted to the people in town-meetings, and rejected; and now Brown says the elections under the suffrage party's Constitution are to be held next Monday week, after which they will assume the government of the State. The existing Legislature, however, have enacted a law prohibiting all further progress of this movement, on severe penalties, and the Governor has issued a proclamation against it. He has sent three Commissioners to claim the military interference of the national Government against internal

commotion, and Brown told me he had come to counteract them, and was going to see the President.

General Scott, whom I met last evening at Dr. Thomas's, and who is a regularly nominated and acquiescent candidate for election as President of the United States, justly thinks that the times are distempered.

This morning I attended the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Stuart, White, Granger, Caruthers, and Everett; absent, Cushing, Shepperd, and Meriwether. I reported the substance of my conference yesterday with the Secretary of State, and his promise to write to me again. The committee agreed, therefore, to meet again on Monday morning. Certain resolutions of the Legislature bearing a hostile aspect towards Mexico were barely taken up and postponed.

In the House, committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Thompson, of Indiana, in the chair, on the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill. The Committee of Ways and Means proposed for the Custom-House at Boston fifty thousand dollars. The Secretary's estimate had proposed one hundred and fifty thousand. Winthrop had moved to add the one hundred thousand last evening; and now there was a sharp debate, closed by the rejection of that motion—then, of another motion to raise the item to seventy-five thousand—then, of a motion to strike out the item of fifty thousand proposed by the committee. Black, of Georgia, moved as an amendment thirty thousand dollars for a Custom-House at Savannah; and I moved, as an amendment to his amendment, the same sum for a Custom-House at Plymouth; both rejected. Committee rose, and House adjourned, at four.

10th. In the House, after a short interval of preliminary matter, the House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Thompson, of Indiana, in the chair. Mr. Proffit resumed his speech upon the light-house establishment of the United States, by a general attack upon the whole system. He compared it with the corresponding establishments of Great Britain and France, and charged it with being far more expensive. He censured Pleasanton, the Fifth Auditor,

as being altogether incompetent for the superintendence of so vast and complicated an establishment, and found fault especially with Mr. Winslow Lewis, who for many years appears to have been the contractor-general for building and supplying all the light-houses. Proffit complained that there was an undue proportion of light-houses on the Northern, where there are multitudes of harbors, and a very small number on the Southern coast, where there are scarcely any harbors at all. He displayed a number of maps, on which the places of light-houses were marked with red spots, and he affirmed that at some of the light-houses the consumption of oil was enormous, owing to the fact that the keepers of the lights sold the oil to the supply of the neighborhood five miles round. After rattling away for two hours in this style, Proffit said he should hereafter make a similar review of the whole Custom-House system, and prove it equally rotten and corrupt, and then withdrew his motion to strike out the appropriation; but it was immediately renewed by Sprigg, of Kentucky, a man as eccentric, prejudiced, and hot-headed as Proffit, with not a tithe of his talents: his principal eloquence consists of pounding his table with his fist. Fillmore was very anxious to get the bill through the committee and the House, and T. W. Williams, J. P. Kennedy, Winthrop, and Cushing defended the light-house establishment, Pleasanton, the Fifth Auditor, and Winslow Lewis.

Wise charged Proffit with putting out the eyes of the ocean, and said that some of the greatest scoundrels on the earth were wreckers, some of whom were his constituents.

12th. I declined invitations to the birthnight and take-leave Clay ball this evening, and from the Russian Minister, Bodisco, and his lady, to dinner to-morrow. But Mr. Bodisco came to my seat yesterday and urged me so earnestly to come to his dinner, which he said was a compliment to Lord Ashburton, that I promised him I would come if I should find myself sufficiently relieved from the rack of my cough to be able.

Mr. Simmons, one of the Senators from Rhode Island, came to my seat and said it was reported that Dutee J. Pearce was in this city and had called on me, and enquired if it was true.

I told him that I had not seen Mr. Pearce, and did not know whether he was or had been in the city or not.

Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs at ten. All the members present except Mr. Meriwether, who is gone to Georgia. The second letter from Mr. Webster to me was read, with a statement respecting the missions to Venezuela, New Grenada, Chili, and Peru. There were voluminous documents respecting our relations with Sardinia, Naples, and Turkey.

Mr. Everett moved that a proviso should be proposed, to be added to the diplomatic appropriations, that if any of the Ministers abroad should be recalled in the course of the year, the remnant of his salary for the year might be applied to the quarter for return.

In the House, Shields, of Alabama, made a pass to crowd in a series of resolutions looking to the defence of the South, and, by dint of pushing and perseverance, carried two or three of them. When the select committees were called, I asked leave to report from the committee on the Smithsonian bequest a bill; but the bill itself was at my house. C. J. Ingersoll had presented to the House and referred to the committee a claim of Richard Rush for extra services in recovering the money, and the Speaker said he had additional documents to present relating to that claim. I moved that the committee should be discharged from the further consideration of the claim, and that it be referred to the Committee of Claims; which, with faint opposition from C. J. Ingersoll, was carried. In committee of the whole on the Union, the diplomatic appropriations came up. The committee rose, and the House adjourned.

13th. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Thompson, of Indiana, in the chair, upon the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, the appropriations for missions abroad being under consideration. I sent to the Clerk's table my first letter as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs to the Secretary of State, and his answer, which were read, and I stated the purport of his subsequent second letter and other communications to the committee.

Archibald L. Linn, of New York, moved to reduce the claim for a Minister to Mexico from provision for a Minister Plenipo-

tentiary to that of a Chargé d'Affaires. His objections were to the person of the Minister recently appointed, Waddy Thompson, Jr., and to the mission itself, on the suspicion that its object was the annexation of Texas to the United States. Linn had the minutes for a long and elaborate speech, but gave only a short synopsis of it. But the game was started. Pickens, Reynolds, Fillmore, Cushing, Jones, of Maryland, Slade, and Wise followed. William Butler, of South Carolina, took the floor. The committee rose, and the House adjourned.

I dined at the Russian Minister Bodisco's, with Lord Ashburton, Messrs. Barrow, Benton, Bruce, John C. Calhoun, Clay, Crittenden, Evans, Fox, Hudson, Hulseman, King, of Alabama, Legaré, Lisboa, Martini, Mildmay, Preston, Rives, Scott, Seaton, Serruys, Spedding, Upshur, Webster, Fletcher Webster, White (Speaker), Wickliffe, Wright, and perhaps one or two others. It was a dinner to Lord Ashburton.

14th. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs at half-past nine this morning. All the members present except Mr. Meriwether. Mr. Stuart, however, being otherwise engaged, merely came in for a moment and retired.

Mr. Cushing read a long report upon the petition of Jabez Mowry and others, inhabitants of Lubec, in the State of Maine, complaining of the condition of our trade with the British American colonies. Appended to the report were sundry resolutions, and Mr. Cushing presented the alternative of a bill. After some discussion, the committee authorized Cushing to present the report to the House, with one set of his resolutions. He asked me if I was willing to move the printing of an extra number of copies of the report—which I readily promised to do; and he enquired if I would consent to his annexing in the appendix to the report my article in the third number of the American Quarterly Review on the subject. I said I should have no objection to that.

In the House, Fillmore had yesterday moved the printing of five thousand more extra copies of the two reports from the Committee of Manufactures, as many having been already printed and distributed. Lott Warren had objected; which laid over the motion for one day. This morning Fillmore renewed

it, and moved the previous question. Warren renewed his objection, but the Speaker said that after the previous question it was too late; and the motion was carried. Fillmore moved a resolution to take the General Appropriation bill out of committee of the whole on Saturday at noon.

I objected, saying that after Wise's speech of yesterday I held it indispensable to occupy the floor a considerable time, and I was unwilling to abridge the time of others who might wish to reply to me. Landaff W. Andrews, a Nimrod wildfire from Kentucky, moved as an amendment to Fillmore's motion that the bill should be taken out of committee this day at four o'clock; but the motion of Andrews was rejected, and that of Fillmore carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred to seventy-three. I voted against it.

The Loan bill, returned from the Senate with an amendment, was then taken up by suspension of the rules—one hundred and eleven to thirty-eight. Clifford moved a sneaking amendment to the Senate's amendment, and called the yeas and nays. Fillmore moved the previous question; which was carried. Clifford's amendment was rejected—eighty to one hundred and one—and the amendment of the Senate was adopted without a division.

Cushing presented his report on the Colonial trade, with a resolution requesting the President to negotiate. I moved the printing of ten thousand extra copies; but objection was made, and the case lies over for a week.

Committee of the whole on the Union—General Appropriation bill. Charles J. Ingersoll, in a speech of an hour and a half, started new game. I answered him partly, till, at four, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

15th. Charles J. Ingersoll's speech yesterday in committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon a motion to strike out and reduce the appropriation for Ministers to Vienna and Berlin, by razeeing them down to the rank of Chargé d'Affaires, was a Congreve rocket thrown into the House to kindle a blazing war spirit and push a stumbling-block in the way of the negotiation with Great Britain. Profligate as were his leading principles, and glaring with absurdity as were his leading

arguments, and perverted and distorted as were his leading facts, such was the impression of his speech upon the House that, when he sat down, every eye in the House was fastened upon me, as if in a voice of thunder to call upon me to meet him. I was almost prostrated by the *loudness* and suddenness of the *silent* call. I paused for a moment, to give every other member the chance for the floor. No one rose. I did, under a sense of depression from which I could not wholly recover. My discourse was rambling and desultory. The result of my speech was apparently satisfactory to my friends, but by no means to myself.

Morgan invited me to dine with him at his lodgings, at Hyatt's—which I accordingly did. It was a parting dinner to Mr. Clay. His friends Crittenden and Saltonstall were there, and the fellow-boarders—Rencher and his wife, Halsted and his wife, Mrs. Morgan, Taliaferro, and two or three others. The agitation and exertion of a long extemporaneous speech, followed by a convivial dinner, aggravated my catarrhal cough, and I had a disturbed, restless, and uncomfortable night; yet I was to resume my speech, not half finished, this morning; and, although Ingersoll's speech of yesterday and mine were reported in the National Intelligencer of this morning, and Wise's of the day before, I had yet not time to read them before the House was in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, with the General Appropriation bill under consideration, and I had the floor to continue and conclude. I had found yesterday in the Congress library the volume of Niles's Register containing the correspondence between General Jackson and Governor Rabun, of Georgia, and in the Independent newspaper of this morning there is a letter from a correspondent at Paris, relating the proceedings in the French Chamber of Deputies on the address to the King when the amendment passed for preventing the ratification by France of the Quintuple Slave-Trade Treaty. Both these documents I used in the speech of three hours with which I concluded my reply to Ingersoll and Wise.

The instant I finished, Landaff W. Andrews, ready to burst with rage, moved to reconsider the resolution to take the bill out of committee at noon to-morrow; but Campbell, of South

Carolina, spoke about an hour and a half against me. Botts then took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned. My speech of this day stung the slaveocracy to madness.

16th. These two persons[1] are from New York—contractors, the former for iron work, the latter for painting, in the new Custom-House at that city. They say that their work has been performed, their contracts on their part executed, but that the item for the Custom-House at New York, without which they cannot be paid, has been stricken out from the General Appropriation bill, and that they have debts heavily pressing upon them, which they cannot pay unless they are themselves paid, and entreating my influence to get the item restored into the bill. It would be a desperate chance to attempt to restore it into this bill, and will be a desperate chance for me to attempt it at all; but I said I would do what I could.

At half-past nine I attended the committee-room of the Foreign Affairs; but it was ten before a quorum of the committee appeared. The members present at last were Adams, Caruthers, Everett, Stuart, Granger, and White; absent, Cushing, Shepperd, and Meriwether. The papers relating to the claim of Cornelius P. Van Ness were taken up, and the two letters of 8th and 31st March, 1841, published in the National Intelligencer, were read; Mr. Van Ness's second answer to them in part, but, before the reading of it was finished, the House bell rang, and the committee adjourned to next Tuesday morning.

In the House, Underwood carried a resolution for reprinting an old pamphlet of James Rumsey, published in 1787. It is to prove that Rumsey was long before Fulton the inventor of steam navigation.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Thompson, of Indiana, in the chair. Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill. Landaff W. Andrews persisted in his motion to reconsider the vote for taking the bill out of committee. But a majority of the House were determined not to reconsider. Botts occupied the time in attempting to reply to me in a very disingenuous manner, violent and feeble. About three minutes

[1] In the margin are the names John G. Tibbits, John Hodgkin.

before twelve he moved the committee to rise; which was carried, and the question upon Andrews's motion to reconsider was lost, by yeas and nays—eighty-eight to ninety-five. I voted for the reconsideration, as I had voted against the limitation of the time, when Andrews had moved and voted not to wait till this day, but to take the bill out of committee at four o'clock on Thursday, the very day on which Fillmore's motion to limit the time was made. The motion to reconsider being lost, a multitude of questions on proposed amendments were taken. The bill was reported to the House. Yeas and nays were taken on sundry amendments under the previous question. Between three and four the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

17th. I had called yesterday at the National Intelligencer office, and asked Mr. Gales to send me the slips of my speech of yesterday to be published to-morrow, for my revisal. He sent them this evening—seven columns of small print, reported by Stansbury. I employed two hours in revising them, and found very few and slight corrections to make. This speech was made under deep and solemn conviction of duty. Its issues are with the Father of spirits. I must abide by its consequences. May they be auspicious to the peace of my country and to human freedom!

20th. Detained, so as to be half an hour belated at the House. I found them taking questions on the amendments adopted in committee of the whole to the Appropriation bill. Clifford, of Maine, raised a point of order, which the Speaker overruled. Clifford appealed. Fillmore moved to lay the appeal on the table, which was carried, by yeas and nays—eighty-six to seventy-five; after which, the vote on the amendment to strike out all the contingencies was carried—one hundred and five to sixty-eight. The vote in committee of the whole upon Charles J. Ingersoll's motion to reduce the item for the expenditure of all the Judicial Courts from four hundred and seventy-five thousand to three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars was confirmed, by yeas and nays—one hundred to seventy-four. A proviso limiting the emoluments of the District Attorney and Clerk of the District

and Circuit Courts of the Northern District of New York was also carried—one hundred and eighteen to fifty-one; and another, that no part of the appropriation should be applied to pay the expense of printing records for the Judges of the Supreme Court, except in cases to which the United States are parties. Sundry other amendments were proposed and some rejected, and some were adopted, and finally the bill was passed to be engrossed, and passed without a division.

Joseph R. Ingersoll, from the Committee of Ways and Means, then reported a general bill for all the stricken-out contingencies; twice read, and committed. The Apportionment bill was taken up and postponed.

21st. At the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, Horace Everett moved a resolution to cease debate on the Apportionment bill, and take it out of committee into the House next Monday at twelve o'clock. This was outrageous. It would have nearly stifled *all* debate upon the bill. Landaff W. Andrews, a man quite as summary and much more fiery than Everett, moved to lay his resolution on the table; which was carried by yeas and nays—ninety-two to seventy-four.

John P. Kennedy presented a strong tariff petition from Baltimore, signed by nine thousand and ninety-four names, praying for protection, countervailing, and tonnage duties, brought by a committee of twenty-eight gentlemen from Baltimore, and fifty-six yards long. He moved its reference partly to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, who have the Tariff bill before them, and partly to the Committee of Commerce. He moved that it should be printed; but a petty debate arose between Kennedy and John T. Mason as to the politics of the signers, and Everett moved that the names of the signers should be printed. Then Turney moved to lay the motion to print on the table; carried—seventy to sixty-five. Medill offered some war-spite resolutions of a meeting in his district, but Morgan objected to their reception.

Medill moved a suspension of the rules, but carried only sixty-one votes for it.

John G. Floyd presented resolutions of the Legislature of

New York for the repeal of the Land Distribution bill; laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

Proffit moved a long resolution of enquiry concerning iron-work on the New York Custom-House, but, on Briggs moving an amendment, withdrew his resolution.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Allen, of Maine, in the chair. The first question was on striking out sixty-eight thousand and inserting fifty-eight thousand; which was rejected. Then, by general consent, the question was taken on striking out sixty-eight thousand; carried—only about thirty members voting for it. Then fifty-nine different numbers, from one hundred and forty-one thousand down to thirty thousand, were moved, by eighty-two different members, beginning with one hundred and forty-one thousand moved by Underwood, of Kentucky, fortified by two speeches. All these numbers were successively voted down by large majorities, till they came to sixty thousand five hundred. I voted against sixty thousand five hundred; which was carried, by tellers—eighty-two to sixty—one hundred members absent or not voting. I shall acquiesce in any number from fifty to sixty thousand. I voted against sixty thousand five hundred as too large. The committee immediately after this vote rose, and the House adjourned.

I dined at Mr. Webster's. Lord Ashburton, with his Secretaries, Mildmay, Bruce, and Spedding, were there. C. Cushing, G. Evans, F. Granger, N. P. Tallmadge, Reuel Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Webster, and Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher Webster, formed the company. Mrs. Webster was very amiable.

24th. The visit of the members of the House of Representatives to the two armed steamers Missouri and Mississippi, yesterday, was by special invitation of the Secretary of the Navy. They were brought here for that particular purpose. They cost each of them over half a million of dollars, carry only ten Paixhan guns each, and are fit only for the defence of harbors. There was an attempt made in the House on Friday to get a vote that the House should go in a body, with the Speaker at their head; but it failed, for want of gratuitous vehicles. There were about a hundred members went on board

yesterday. The President came, with all his Cabinet Ministers, and was received with a salute from the Paixhan guns, Hail Columbia from the Marine bands, and the manning of the yards with a scanty exhibition of men. Few of the members of Congress noticed at all the presence of the President. This sudden Virginian overflow of zeal for the patronage of the navy comes reeking hot from the furnace of slavery. 'Tis a wholesome stream from a polluted fountain.

25th. After many months of unjustifiable delay, made up a packet of the manuscript of Samuel Elliot, of Brattleborough, Vermont, upon the Constitution, laws, politics, and morals, delivered to me last summer with a request that I would read it and give my opinion of it in writing—a request which I ought instantly to have denied, but which, from the reluctance of my nature to say no, I did receive without promising a written opinion; which I soon found I ought not to give. Mr. Elliot has written to me twice, requesting me to return his manuscript—to him a jewel of inestimable value. I ought long since to have returned it. I put it, with an apologetic letter to Mr. Elliot, this morning, in the post-office of the House.

This was the regular day of call to the States for petitions. Pendleton, of Ohio, made a faint show of a wish to present his resolutions from Cincinnati disapproving the censure of Giddings; but the House would not hear him. Everett proposed to take up and pass the private bills reported from the committee of the whole to the House last Friday. No. Cowen, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, obtained leave for that committee to sit during the sitting of the House for one week.

Stanly called up a bill reported from the Committee of Commerce, to prohibit the transportation of passengers or letters from port to port of the United States by foreign ships or vessels. This is a new question, started by the recent practice of the British West India mail steamers ranging along our coast and stopping at all our ports from Savannah to Boston. This already brings them in collision with our Post-Office laws and stage-running and railroad companies, and produced this bill. It was on the point of being driven through without

debate, till Proffit started a doubt, which soon kindled into a warm discussion. Cushing blew a flourish of trumpets about the Colonial trade. Gordon, of New York, butted his Anglophobia upon the House at the same time that Mark A. Cooper and Rhett, in hatred of internal industry, blazed out for free trade and the rights of the citizen. The bill was finally laid over till Thursday, and will be hotly contested.

Underwood made an attempt to get up the District Bank bill, suspended by a small amendment between the two Houses —but in vain.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Elisha H. Allen in the chair, on the Apportionment bill. Underwood moved to strike out sixty thousand five hundred as the common divisor, and insert fifty-eight thousand five hundred; Atherton, fifty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine; Briggs, fifty thousand three hundred and ninety-one; Atherton again, fifty-three thousand eight hundred and seventy-five; Mark A. Cooper, fifty-six thousand two hundred. The committee rose without coming to a vote, and the House adjourned.

26th. Mr. White, editor of the Southern Literary Messenger, called on me this morning, and took the article of Lieutenant Maury upon the right of search, which he had lent me last Saturday and requested me to read and give my opinion of it. He now asked my opinion, and I told him I disagreed with it altogether; that Lieutenant Maury's law was quarter-deck law—do no right and take no wrong; that he assumed erroneous law, and principles utterly untenable, and, above all, that the temper of his article was rancorous and vituperative—a fault of all the diplomatic papers and dissertations on our side in this recent controversy. I desired him to ask Lieutenant Maury what he had to say to the fifty-fourth, ninety-eighth, and ninety-ninth sections of our Collection law of 1799, and to the seventh section of the Act of 1807, for prohibiting the slave-trade.

At the House, Weller, of Ohio, asked leave to offer resolutions of a meeting in Ashtabula County censuring the conduct of Giddings. Stanly objected. Weller moved a suspension of

the rules—for which there were only thirty-seven votes. The resolutions were not received. The effect of the gag-rule against the reception of abolition petitions has so familiarized the House to the refusal to receive petitions generally that it operates upon all petitions and resolutions on all subjects, and it is now sufficient for any one member to object to the reception of any petition to insure its exclusion.

Wood, of New York, was equally unsuccessful in the effort to introduce a resolution of enquiry concerning expenditures at the navy-yard, Brooklyn.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Elisha H. Allen in the chair, on the Apportionment bill. Mark A. Cooper finished his tedious speech in favor of his standard number, changed to fifty-six thousand two hundred and seventy-six. White, of Indiana, Gordon, Everett, Bidlack, Fillmore, Caruthers, R. W. Davis, Pope, Bowne, Charles Brown, W. Cost Johnson, and Cross expatiated in commonplaces upon democracy, a large and a small house, the majesty of the people, and the principle of representative government, till at last the question was taken upon Briggs's amendment, fifty thousand one hundred and seventy-nine, to Atherton's amendment, fifty-three thousand eight hundred and seventy-five, striking out the number sixty thousand five hundred adopted last Thursday. Briggs's amendment was first carried by tellers, and then, as Atherton's amendment, amended—ninety to fifty-nine. Halsted then, by direction of the Committee of Elections, moved an additional section for districting the Union so that every member should represent only one district; upon which there sprang up a heated debate, in the midst of which the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

The resolution for districting was first introduced by John Campbell, of South Carolina, who before the debate is over will see deeper into the millstone than he did. He offered the resolution for the protection of slavery. Slavery will defeat its passage.

27th. Horace Everett gave notice that he would move to-morrow to take the bill out of committee at twelve o'clock next Friday.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Allen, of Maine, in the chair, on the Apportionment bill. The question was upon the amendment offered by Halsted, Chairman of the Committee of Elections, and modified according to the resolution first presented by J. Campbell, of South Carolina, requiring that the States should be districted to return only one Representative for each district. The debate waxed warm, and assumed at once a bitter and rancorous party aspect. Stanly, Goggin, Colquitt, Arnold, Garret Davis, Summers, John G. Floyd, Houston, and Kennedy, of Indiana, fought the battle between State sovereignty and Democracy, and between slavery and freedom, involved in this question. There are now three free States—New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and New Jersey—returning thirteen members, and two slave States—Alabama and Georgia—returning fourteen, who elect by general ticket; Mississippi and Missouri elect each two, also by general ticket. The motion came from South Carolina—State rights and nullification; but Campbell was not one individual of his party. Colquitt stoutly denied the constitutional right of Congress to enact the districting of the States, and contended that the Constitution, by prescribing that the members of the House of Representatives should be chosen by the people, absolutely required that every member should be chosen by the whole people.

Summers made an excellent speech, and produced a passage from the Madison Papers, fixing the meaning of the word "manner" in the Constitution beyond all possibility of cavil; but Floyd hunted up all the propositions of amendments in the State Conventions which adopted the Constitution, as argument against the exercise of the power. Almost all the Democrats who opposed the amendment declare their preference for the district system, but object to it as increasing the control of Congress over the State Legislatures. Houston was keen upon Campbell. Kennedy is coarse and vulgar and unreasonable, but not ineloquent. He did not finish. The committee rose, and the House adjourned at four.

28th. At the House, Stanly, Chairman of the Committee on Public Expenditures, made a report, to which was annexed

that of George Poindexter, one of four Commissioners appointed by President Tyler, May, 1841, to investigate the transactions of the New York Custom-House. A long-expected budget of dreaded and dreadful disclosures. Stanly moved that it should be laid on the table and printed; which was ordered without opposition, unawares to the House. But, before the close of the sitting, Roosevelt moved a reconsideration of the vote to print—which the Speaker decided was not in order, the votes having been taken without opposition. Roosevelt appealed; but the Speaker would not allow the appeal.

My motion to print ten thousand copies of Cushing's report on the Colonial trade was contested. Hopkins moved to reduce the number to five thousand, and called the yeas and nays. His motion was rejected—sixty-nine to ninety-one. Everett moved, according to his notice, to take the Apportionment bill out of committee to-morrow at two o'clock. I objected, and he modified to next Tuesday. But his motion was laid on the table—seventy-seven to sixty-five.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Allen in the chair, on the Apportionment bill. Kennedy, of Indiana, finished his speech against the districting section, followed by Payne, of Alabama, Barnard, J. G. Floyd, and Clifford, of Maine, pro and con. W. Cost Johnson took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

29th. Morning visit from Mr. Snelling, of Boston, who brought with him and gave me two pamphlets—the fifth annual report of the Massachusetts Board of Education and of their secretary, Horace Mann, and a speech of Abbott Lawrence at the convention of shoe and leather dealers in Boston on the 2d of March last. I had much conversation with Mr. Snelling on both these subjects, and also upon teaching of vocal music at the schools. He reminded me that three or four years ago he and Lowell Mason had visited me at Quincy to invite me to deliver an address upon the opening of the Odeon by the new musical association, and he read to me from Mr. Mann's report a letter of enquiry upon the comparative merits of common workmen with the rudiments of common-school education and other persons of the same class without education. The letter

was long, and I am ashamed to confess that, just as he was finishing the reading of it, I dropped asleep.

At the House, as soon as the journal of yesterday was read, Briggs asked leave to offer a resolution calling upon the President for the reports of the Commissioners, or any of them, for the investigation of the New York Custom-House. Everett objected. Briggs moved a suspension of the rules—which was carried; and his resolution was finally adopted.

Roosevelt then renewed his motion for reconsideration of the order to print Poindexter's report, and his appeal from the decision of the Speaker that the motion was not admissible. After much altercation, Everett moved to lay the appeal on the table; but, before this question, the Speaker reversed his own decision, and received the motion for reconsideration. This brought on a tart and bitter debate, in which Wise arraigned the committee for presenting the report, and Poindexter for communicating it to the committee. At the same time he glorified Poindexter for making the report, which he said would prove to be the most powerful anti-tariff document that ever was presented to this House, and that the whole South, and especially South Carolina, ought to erect an imperishable monument to his memory; but he could tell New England gentlemen that some of the most distinguished men and highest families in Boston and Lowell would be implicated in charges of bribery and corruption, and it would ultimately involve every member from Massachusetts on this floor. Not a member from Massachusetts raised his voice to repel this imputation; but Stanly retorted with wormwood and gall upon Wise. The motion for reconsideration was rejected—seventy-eight to eighty-four.

30th. Mr. Fletcher called on me again this morning, and I returned to him his brother's letter. I had some further conversation with him upon his project of transferring a colony of Yankee farmers into Virginia—which I gave him to understand I thought very hazardous, if not impracticable. He has, no doubt, another plan, not yet disclosed; that is, to solicit my influence to obtain some place for him under the Government—

a project more hopeless than that of turning a Yankee farmer into a Virginian.

I received last evening a letter, of the 27th, from Dr. E. H. Robbins, of Boston, with a Tariff memorial from himself and about thirty other woollen manufacturers, with a request to me to present it and have it referred to the Committee of Manufactures and printed. This incident afforded me an opportunity to meet, this morning, Wise's base and malignant attack yesterday upon the manufacturers of Boston and Lowell, and upon every member of the Massachusetts delegation in the House. So, immediately after the reading of the journal, I addressed the Speaker, and asked the general consent of the House to present the memorial of Edward H. Robbins and about thirty other manufacturers of Boston, Lowell, and other places; and I said I should move its reference to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to whom was referred the Tariff bill reported by the Committee of Manufactures, and that it be printed with the names of the signers. Hopkins and Charles Brown objected, but withdrew their objection when I moved to suspend the rules and referred to the attack by Wise, yesterday, upon every member of the Massachusetts delegation. I then proceeded to comment upon Wise's speech; which soon brought him up, to explain, to disclaim, and to change his tone. It brought up Cushing, too, and several others, till a rabid thirst appeared for an inflammatory general debate, which the Speaker decided must lie over till the next petition day, under the rule. Underwood appealed. Lott Warren moved to lay the appeal on the table; which was carried.

Message from the President, with the three reports of Poindexter, Kelly, and Stewart, on the investigation of the New York Custom-House. Wise moves to print them all, and makes another speech of an hour, apologetical and explanatory for himself, and vindicatory for the President. Adjourn at six o'clock.

I called at the office of the National Intelligencer, and left with the foreman the memorial of E. H. Robbins and the woollen manufacturers, to be published Monday morning. Received afterwards a second letter from E. H. Robbins, of the 28th, de-

siring to substitute another memorial for that which I have presented.

May 1st. In consequence of the letter received last evening from Dr. E. H. Robbins, I went this morning to the office of the National Intelligencer, to take back the memorial which I had left there last evening for publication. I found at the office only one laborer, and, after looking around for the paper without success, he took me to the house of Mr. Donohue, with whom I had left the memorial. I roused Donohue from his bed, and said I had called at the office to request the return of the memorial which he had promised to publish to-morrow morning. He said he would send it to me. He did so afterwards, and with it sent the manuscript report, by Wheeler and Niles, of my remarks in the House yesterday.

2d. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, E. H. Allen in the chair. J. Campbell's amendment for single districting the States. W. Cost Johnson made a yea-nay speech, for the single district system, and against it, in this bill—the instinctive expedient of unsteady minds. He was followed by just such another from John Pope, whose habitual practice is to reason in strength and vote in weakness. Both these men think the amendment will fail, and they vote to be on the strongest side. Pendleton, of Ohio, but a native of Georgia, followed with the most sensible speech he has made in the House, for the single district. Everett the same. Clifford sophisticated against it. Halsted, Chairman of the Committee of Elections, replied, as well as he could, to the objectors. Ferris, of New York, began a long speech, but the committee rose, and the House passed a resolution to take the bill out of committee at two P.M. to-morrow.

Lord Ashburton came, and took the seat next to mine till the House adjourned.

3d. In the House, committee of the whole on the state of the Union, E. H. Allen in the chair, on the Apportionment bill. Ferris concluded his speech against Campbell's districting section; followed by a growling of Atherton on the same side, till within ten minutes of two. Samson H. Butler, of South Carolina, began a speech for districting, which, on being

arrested at two, he said he would expand in a newspaper. The districting section was carried in committee, by tellers—ninety-five to ninety-two; and in the House, by yeas and nays—one hundred and one to ninety-nine. The apportionment number fixed at fifty thousand one hundred and seventy-four. The House to consist of three hundred and twenty-seven members. Everett's amendment rejected without ceremony. He could not make it palatable to the House. Bill passed for engrossment—ayes one hundred and thirteen, nays eighty-seven—and passed without division. Adjourned at half-past four.

4th. At the House, after the usual quantum of interloping business, the order of the day was Wise's motion to print the President's message received last Saturday, with all the documents, relating to the investigation of all the concerns of the Custom-House at New York. Underwood, who has been tumid with gestation of a speech for years, on Executive usurpations, now overladen with the additional burden of his vote for reconsideration last Friday, was now delivered; and he began by denying the lawful authority of the President to institute any commission to investigate the conduct or proceedings of any public officer without statute law. He censured Mr. Tyler also for assuming the title of President of the United States—censured the Committee on Public Expenditures for producing Poindexter's report—censured the House for hot haste in many of their acts—censured every one but himself, but glorified himself, all in the simplicity of his heart, and in perfect honesty.

Proffit attempted to answer him, not by argument, but by charging inconsistency on the Whigs for questioning now the right of the President to institute an investigating commission, which they loudly applauded at the time when it was instituted.

Then came Stanly, galled and goaded by the brutal attack of Wise on the Committee on Public Expenditures. He retorted upon him with such unmingled wormwood that Wise started up in his place and called him a coward; which Stanly repelled with scorn and defiance.

Cushing then drew and brandished the sword of his eloquence

against Stanly and Underwood, but soon stopped, and the House adjourned.

5th. Morning visit from Mr. Lay, who has been recently appointed Chargé d'Affaires to Sweden, but complains much of ill treatment from Mr. Webster, who, he says, wrote to him inviting him to Washington and making him a tender of any vacant office at home—that is, under the United States Government in this country—that he might desire. He answered that he wanted no office at home, and would accept none, but he was willing to accept a mission abroad. He was offered the choice between Naples and Brussels as Chargé d'Affaires. He accepted Naples, and the first information he received was the appointment of another person to that place. After sundry other prevarications and shiftings of blame between Webster and the President, he was at last given this appointment to Stockholm, which he had never desired, and which he did not obtain until after an interview with Mr. Webster, who reproached him with lukewarmness in the cause of Mr. John Tyler, till Lay took his hat and left his office.

Next came Mr. Joshua Leavitt, with the gratifying intelligence that Joshua R. Giddings was here, re-elected by a majority of upwards of three thousand of his old constituents of the Sixteenth Congressional District of Ohio.

Mr. Walter R. Johnson brought me a letter of introduction from George W. Toland, and he came in at the same time with Mr. Charles Fletcher, but I was obliged to go to the House, and requested them to call some other time.

In the entry to the Representative hall I met Mr. Giddings, and cordially congratulated him on his return and upon the honorable manner in which he has been sustained by his constituents. At the meeting of the House, he was introduced by his colleague, Sherlock J. Andrews, sworn by the Speaker, and took a seat.

The rest of the day was lost. The Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill was received back from the Senate with a multitude of amendments, which, at Fillmore's motion, were ordered to be printed. Habersham, a member of the Committee of Manufactures, presented a long-winded minority counter-

report to that made some weeks since by Mr. Saltonstall with his bill. An effort was made to introduce a resolution rescinding the order to adjourn over from this day till next Monday, but failed. Three successive motions to adjourn were rejected by yeas and nays—large majorities. A call of the House was refused. I moved the order of the day, the unfinished business of yesterday, but Everett moved to adjourn. The yeas and nays were evaded, and the motion carried.

7th. Mr. George Brown, of Beverly, one of the persons introduced to me last Wednesday by Mr. Saltonstall, called again this day, and, after some suitable apology for asking of me a particular favor, requested me to write for him a paraphrase in verse of the first and second verses of the sixty-first chapter of Isaiah. I told him it was a very hazardous thing to attempt a paraphrase in English verse from the book of Isaiah. Pope was the only man, I believed, who ever had done it with success. Nevertheless, in the hope to gratify him, I would try my hand at this version, and let him know the result in a few days. He also very urgently invited me to deliver the introductory lecture before the Lyceum at their next winter's course, and said there were about seven hundred members of their Lyceum. I told him if I should deliver any lectures next autumn, other than to the Quincy Lyceum and before the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston, I would hold myself engaged for the Lyceum at Beverly.

Mr. Morehead, heretofore Governor, and now one of the Senators, of Kentucky, visited us with his wife, as did Mr. and Mrs. Pope, with Mrs. Wickliffe, wife of the Postmaster-General.

I called at Lord Ashburton's house to return his visit and those of the gentlemen attached to his mission—Bruce, Mildmay, and Spedding; but they were gone to the race-grounds, the week having been devoted to the spring races. With my wife, I attended an evening party at Mrs. Madison's. The Senators Preston and Rives, with their families, Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher Webster, Archer, the Tayloes, Cuttses, Henry Van Rensselaer and his wife, Lord Ashburton and his family, Mrs. Stewart, the British officers Crofton and Crespigny, and sundry others, were there. I took a hand at one rubber of whist with

Mr. Preston, Mrs. Fletcher Webster, and Mrs. Henry Van Rensselaer, a beautiful daughter of John Alsop King, and granddaughter of Rufus King. I then gave up my seat at the table. Lord Ashburton afterwards told me that he had received my card, and would be very glad to have a short conversation with me. I told him I would call at his house again; but he enquired at what time he could probably find me at home. I said, almost every evening.

Henry A. Wise assaulted and caned Edward Stanly this day on the race-course.

8th. Paraphrase of Isaiah lxi. 1, 2:

'Tis God himself within me that I feel.
He prompts my lips his purpose to reveal.
I come—the Lord's anointed—here to speak
And preach his word—glad tidings to the meek—
To heal the broken-hearted captive's pain,
Forever to dissolve oppression's chain,
From prison to release the wretched thrall,
While from his limbs the galling fetters fall.
Hark! hapless mourner! lend thy anguished ear!
Hark! I proclaim the Lord's accepted year,
The day of vengeance of our God unroll,
And herald comfort to the mourner's soul.

This paraphrase was made at the request of George Brown, Esq., of Beverly. See Luke, ch. iv., v. 17, 21.

9th. At the House, after the usual half-hour of surreptitious business, introduced in evasion of all order, the unfinished business of last Thursday was resumed, and Cushing had the floor in reply to Underwood. He made a most anxious and elaborate and ostentatious defence of the right of the President to institute this investigating commission, so sudorifically labored that he brought me very seriously to doubt its legality. Underwood had indiscreetly or ignorantly alluded more than once to my appointment of Ministers to the Congress of Panama. Cushing took advantage of this, and called directly upon me for my purposes and views on that occasion; which I freely gave. I cited the appointments of Gouverneur Morris and of Paul Jones by President Washington, the controversy between Mr. Madison and the Senate in 1814, and the appointment by

Mr. Monroe of Commissioners to South America in 1818. I abridged this part of Cushing's speech. After a good deal of chaffering, an order was passed to print the other reports and the testimony, and the debate was postponed to take up the amendments of the Senate to the Appropriation bill. Adjourned after four.

10th. As I was going from home this morning to attend the Committee of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dutee J. Pearce, of Newport, Rhode Island, called upon me. He is one of the leading members of a party in that State who have undertaken to achieve a revolution in its government by the formation of a Constitution upon the principle of universal suffrage, instead of the freehold qualification hitherto maintained under the charter of Charles the Second, which that State has adhered to instead of substituting for it, as all the others of the old States have done, a Constitution enacted by the people themselves. This freehold qualification of voters has been many years rankling and festering in the heart of the State, and frequent attempts have been made in the Legislature, constituted as it was, to obtain a call of a Convention to form a Constitution discarding it. All these attempts having failed, a popular movement was concerted and organized last summer, and unlicensed meetings of disqualified persons in every town of the State chose delegates to a Convention which met at Providence last November and formed a Constitution, afterwards voted for by upwards of thirteen thousand inhabitants of the State, in popular meetings in December. After this the regular Legislature called a Convention which formed and proposed a Constitution, which the qualified voters afterwards rejected. The suffrage party then proceeded to organize their Government, elected their Government, Legislative and Executive; and they have held a session of their Legislature, and have assumed by acts of legislation the government of the State upon themselves. Pearce acted in this assembly as one of the Representatives from Newport. In the mean time, the regular Governor and Legislature have been elected, held a meeting and proclaimed all the proceedings of the suffrage party unlawful, and applied to the President of the United States for the military interference of the Government of the

Union—which has been granted. Pearce, with several others of the suffrage party, has been arrested, and held to bail under a charge of treason against the State. I could not wait to converse with him, but asked him to call upon me again. He said he would, unless he should leave the city this day.

11th. Mr. Giddings had yesterday requested an interview with me at my house this morning; to which I had agreed, and he came. He said that the Army Appropriation bill would shortly come up for the consideration of the House. There was an item of appropriation in it of one hundred thousand dollars for the prosecution of the war in Florida, which he thought should be struck out. Mr. Slade, with whom he had conversed upon the subject, was of the same opinion, and they had thought it best to consult with me concerning the expediency of making the motion. I said I concurred entirely in the opinion that the item ought to be struck out, but I was not sure that it would be advisable at the present time to make the motion. It would undoubtedly breed a tempest. The whole system of policy of the country, foreign and domestic, war and peace, slavery and the slave-trade, would be opened for debate on this motion, and the public feeling on this topic was so lukewarm and so perverted, even in the free States, that I could not ward off the doubt of the expediency of agitating it at all, by starting the game ourselves.

13th. At the House, this was a day for the consideration of debatable private bills; but, after the adoption of a resolution offered by Thompson for a committee of investigation concerning the furnishing of the new Custom-House at New York, Fillmore sent to the Clerk's table a letter to him from the Secretary of the Navy, stating that a draft on the Department for an inconsiderable sum had, for want of funds at the Department, been necessarily protested, and on that letter Mr. Fillmore founded his motion to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Navy Appropriation bill; which was carried, Clifford, of Maine, in the chair.

The first item, for the pay of the officers and men, was upwards of three millions. Meriwether, of Georgia, moved to reduce it nearly a million, to the sum appropriated last year.

Fornance, of Pennsylvania, made a feeble attempt at a retrenchment speech, but was so little heeded that he soon got out of humor, sat down, and refused to proceed. A long and rambling debate ensued upon the promotions and new appointments of officers within the last year, a disproportionate number of whom are from Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia. Wise, the Chairman of the Naval Committee, was argufying before a magistrate against the right of the Judge to bind him over to keep the peace out of his district. He came in at last, and frightened Meriwether out of his economy by the terror of Bermuda, the Gulf of Mexico, and abolitionism.

14th. At the House, Henry Dodge, the delegate from the Wisconsin Territory, offered a resolution of enquiry of the Secretary of the Treasury, imputing gross official malversation to James D. Doty, the present Governor of the Territory, and with a long and vilifying preamble, which, upon objection being made to its reception, was received by suspension of the rules. Howard, of Michigan, moved to strike out one of the accusatory whereases; which was carried. The previous question was then sprung. I objected both to the remainder of the preamble and to parts of the resolution, avowing my readiness to vote for any motion of enquiry as to facts; but I was stopped from all argument. I moved to lay the whole matter on the table; lost, by yeas and nays—twenty-six to one hundred and twenty-eight; and the resolution and the preamble were driven through like a locomotive on a railroad.

Triplett moved a resolution of enquiry concerning certain recent promotions of Lieutenants in the navy, but could not obtain a suspension of the rules for its consideration.

The General Appropriation bill, returned from the Senate, receding from some of their amendments, and insisting upon others, was then taken up. The House receded from one or two of theirs, and insisted upon all the rest. A committee of conference was appointed—Fillmore, myself, and Cave Johnson.

16th. This morning at nine o'clock I attended, at the chamber of the Senate's Committee of Finance, the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses upon the

Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill. The managers on the part of the Senate were George Evans, of Maine, Silas Wright, of New York, and Berrien, of Georgia. Those of the House were Millard Fillmore, myself, and Cave Johnson. Fillmore and myself were in favor of all the points insisted on by the Senate, but Cave Johnson was perfectly intractable upon every point. Sundry concessions were concerted between the two Chairmen to pacify Cave; but it was all in vain; he would agree to nothing; and Fillmore and I were finally obliged to accede to a compromise offered by the managers of the Senate, and the House had been nearly an hour in session when we made our report. I found Levy, the Jew delegate from Florida, making a red-hot speech against the President's message declaring his intention to put an end to the Florida War. The question was upon printing the message and referring it to the Committee on the Territories, which, after some sparring of Cushing and Mark A. Cooper, was carried.

Fillmore then presented the report of the joint committee of conference; upon which the Speaker at first decided that the question must be taken upon the whole report at once. This is the Parliamentary law; but Atherton insisted on taking a separate question upon every point of difference, and produced a precedent, to which the Speaker yielded. Separate questions were taken on each point. Cave Johnson made a bitter speech against the adoption of several parts of the report. It proposed a compromise of seventy-five thousand dollars for the Custom-House at Boston. It was taken, by yeas and nays, and carried—ninety-nine to seventy-seven. The report for the New York Custom-House was conditional; carried also by yeas and nays—ninety-three to seventy-three. The Senate adopted the report of the committee of conference by one vote, and notice of it was received by message to the House. The Naval Appropriation bill was then taken up, and, in the midst of a foolish speech of Reynolds, of Illinois, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

17th. In the House, William Cost Johnson moved a suspension of the rules for a joint resolution to close the session on

the 15th of June; lost—sixty-six to ninety-four. Navy Appropriation bill in committee of the whole, Clifford in the chair. Reynolds, Mallory, Cushing, Triplett, debated. Sprigg was laboring with a speech, but wanted a whole morning for delivery, and would not begin. Cushing pushed through a couple of small bills from the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Wise got up his bill to appoint a Board to prepare a new system of rules and laws for the regulation and government of the navy. I took part in this debate. The bill laid aside. Adjourned after four. I dined at Lord Ashburton's. My wife was invited, but declined. Mrs. Madison, Mr. and Mrs. Preston, Mr. and Mrs. Rives, Mr. and Mrs. Evans, Bayard, Bodisco, Calhoun, Choate, Legaré, and General Tallmadge, were there. Long conversation with Lord Ashburton.

18th. In the House, Underwood, Chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, did at last obtain from the House an order setting apart the 1st and 2d days of June for the consideration of the District business. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Clifford in the chair, on the Navy Appropriation bill. Sprigg, of Kentucky, made a long speech in support of Meriwether's motion to retrench nearly one million of dollars upon the item of pay for the officers and seamen of the navy. Mason, of Ohio, followed, in a speech full of honest principle, sound reasoning, and curious and instructive details. Gwin, of Mississippi, made one, worthy of a repudiator of honest debts. Everett, Gamble, Pendleton, Fillmore, followed, the debate still waxing in interest, till McKay took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

19th. At ten o'clock I went to the President's house; but the Secretary of War was with him, and in the entry and rooms below and in the chambers above there were eight or ten solitary strollers to and fro, waiting for admission—all, except one member of Congress, wolves of the antechamber, prowling for offices. I waited about half an hour, and then gave the dispatch from Dr. Flugel, the Consul at Leipsic, to a servant, requesting him to deliver it to the President, and left the house.

I went to the Navy Department, and held an hour's confer-

ence with the Secretary, Alfred P. Upshur, upon the proposed revisal of the rules and regulations of the navy, and the reorganization of the Department. As to the composition of the Board, I found that his expectation was to prepare the revisal of the rules and regulations himself, and to submit them to the Board as a Council. He was earnest to retain the officers of the several degrees, from the Post-Captain down to the Lieutenant, in the Board; but he thought it very proper to include an eminent lawyer, and also an officer of the Marine Corps; but, if he is to prepare a revised code himself, it is doubtful whether any Board of Officers be necessary at all.

The House had been nearly an hour in session when I reached it. McKay was in the midst of a very searching speech against the high appropriations of the Navy bill. Fillmore had already carried in the House a resolution to take out the bill from the committee next Monday. Meriwether's amendment, reducing the appropriation nearly one million of dollars for the pay of officers and seamen, was carried, by a vote of seventy-two to fifty-three. Triplett then moved an amendment providing that no part of the appropriation should be applied to pay officers suspended by sentence of a Court-martial, or officers who have been more than five years out of service. This gave rise to a warm debate, which continued till past four, and in which I took part in opposition to the amendment, and to an amendment to it, proposed by Lott Warren. When I closed, Arnold took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

20th. The President went in grand military parade this morning to Baltimore, to review the encampment on the borders of that city; but rain is a mortal foe to the glories of military triumph in the piping times of peace. Mr. Tyler returned to the White House this evening, as he had gone forth from it this morning, escorted by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, without so much as an oration gathered from the tented field. He did not even visit the encampment.

In the House, Pendleton, of Cincinnati, Ohio, offered a resolution calling on the Secretary of the Navy for documents relating to the construction of the engine for a steamer con-

templated to be employed on the lakes. Cushing objected. Pendleton moved a suspension of the rules; carried, by yeas and nays, after a call of the House, commenced and superseded—one hundred and six to forty-seven. Pendleton then made a speech, and moved the previous question, which, and the resolution itself, were carried without a division.

The Speaker presented a letter from Samuel Lawrence and William W. Stone, complaining that in the report of Poindexter there are charges imputing dishonest and dishonorable conduct to them, and declaring their readiness, if the House think fit, to submit to any scrutiny for the vindication of their conduct and reputation. And he presented a letter from Poindexter himself, asking for the appointment of a select committee to examine the statements in his report, and the evidence upon which he relies to support them.

Mr. Saltonstall moved that the letter from Lawrence and Stone should be laid on the table, and printed; which was ordered.[1]

Garret Davis moved to refer Poindexter's letter to the committee. Bowne moved to lay the motion to refer, and print and refer, on the table; carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and four to fifty-nine.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, on the Navy Appropriation bill, Clifford in the chair. Triplett undertook to support the amendment by a speech, but it was voted down, as well as Warren's amendment to it. A ludicrous altercation followed, between Charles Brown and Mallory, about the comparative demerits and merits of the navy-yards at Norfolk and Philadelphia, and of the Naval Asylum on the Schuylkill. McLellan, of Kinderhook, then moved another restrictive amendment—countenanced by Everett. McKay made a powerful speech against any increase of the appropriations. Cushing commenced an answer—the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

21st. The chill northeastern continues—but this day without rain. I wrote lines in the album of Anna Payne, Mrs. Madison's niece; and in the Boston Mercantile Journal, edited

[1] This does not agree with the journal, which attributes the motion to Mr. Fillmore for reference to the committee on public expenditure, and printing.

by a man characteristically called Sleeper, Mr. G. Brown has published, with a puff, my paraphrase of the first and second verses of the sixty-first chapter of Isaiah, written at his request. Not a day passes but I receive letters from the North, and sometimes the West, asking for an autograph and a scrap of poetry or of prose, and from the South, almost daily, letters of insult, profane obscenity, and filth. These are indices to the various estimation in which I am held in the free and servile sections of this Union—indices to the moral sensibilities of free and of slavery-tainted communities. Threats of lynching and assassination are the natural offspring of slave-breeders and slave-traders; profanity and obscenity are their natural associates. Such dross the fire must purge. But the perpetual calls for autographs and album scraps are scarcely less annoying in another way. They set in motion the rhyming maggot in my brain, and breed swarms of May-flies as prolific as the dead herrings that line the banks of the Potomac. I labored with an abortion upon Faith this morning, and with another anti-belligerent speech on this Navy Appropriation bill.

At the House, after a struggle by Cowen, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, pleading for the devotion of this day to private business, the House, at Fillmore's motion, decided, by yeas and nays, eighty-four to sixty-nine, to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union on that bill.

Cushing had the floor from yesterday, and made an elaborate speech of two hours in defence of the Administration, and of the Secretary of the Navy and his report. His argument, as usual, was captious and sophistical, attempting to show that the Secretary's plan did not urge a present increase of the navy, but that McKay and Meriwether were contending for a decrease of the existing navy. Cushing affects to be the leader of the Administration members, and is much flattered when recognized by the Whigs and Democrats as a Cabinet Minister of the White House in petto—as was done by McKay and Meriwether in replying to him this day; which they did with great earnestness.

Parmenter made a sly, jesuitical, Mrs. Candor attack upon the Commissioners of the Navy, and especially upon Commo-

dores Hull and Morris; which I briefly noticed. The committee rose, and the House adjourned soon after three. The news of the bloodless termination of the Rhode Island war was this day received. The ignominious flight of the spurious Governor, Thomas W. Dorr, has postponed the heaviest calamity that ever befell this nation; but I scarcely dare yet to rejoice. J. P. Kennedy and others told me also that the quarrel between Wise and Stanly was adjusted; no fight.

22d. I went to the Capitol, and heard Mr. Maffitt deliver his sermon from Luke xv. 7: "I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, *which need no repentance.*" He omitted these last underscored words. He said it was not his custom to preach from given texts, but he had received an anonymous letter in very respectful terms, requesting him to preach from this beautiful text, and he took pleasure in complying with the request. I still believe that it was intended for, and felt to be, a stab, Joab-like, under the fifth rib; whether merited or not, certainly given in no Christian spirit. The sermon itself indicated the performance of an unwelcome task. The house was full, but not crowded. Mr. Maffitt's oratory is superficial, flashy, and shallow, but very attractive. There is a difficulty in the sentiment of this text, which seems to countenance the idea that in heaven itself reformed wickedness is more estimable than steadfast and unsullied virtue. Mr. Maffitt could not grapple with this difficulty, nor did he once allude to the incomparable parable of the Prodigal Son, introduced by this text, and illustrative of its meaning. We had evening visits from Richard Cutts, Jr., and his sister, with Anna Payne, Mrs. Madison's niece, quite delighted with my lines written in her album, but anxiously earnest to know whether any other person had ever read them before I sent them to her; while Miss Cutts was not pleased that they were so much prettier than those I had written for her. Mr. Richard Rush likewise took tea with us. He has been here several days—he says only for the settlement of some private concerns of his own. Long conversation with him on the Colonial trade questions.

24th. The House went into committee, Underwood in the

chair, upon the Army Appropriation bill. On the first item of appropriation, being for the pay of the army, Cave Johnson moved a reduction of three hundred and five thousand seven hundred dollars, or about one-fifth of the amount. Meriwether moved a proviso to suspend the operation of the Act of 1838, increasing the army, which the Chairman decided not to be in order; whereupon Cave Johnson withdrew his amendment to reduce the amount of pay, and moved an amendment providing that no part of the appropriation should be applied to pay officers hereafter appointed, or soldiers enlisted, till the army shall muster not more than five thousand men. Fillmore objected to the amendment as not in order. The Chairman decided that it was. Morgan took an appeal too late, and I moved an amendment to that of Cave Johnson by substituting the standard of the Act of 1821, six instead of five thousand men; which Cave Johnson accepted. And now the debate for the reduction of the army commenced. W. O. Butler, Ward, Fillmore, and W. Cost Johnson warmly resisted the reduction, C. H. Williams, Reynolds, and W. R. Campbell supporting the amendment. Sharp altercation between Black, of Georgia, and Granger, upon a heavy charge by Black against the army, who were vigorously defended by Granger; upon which Black denied that he had made any charge. Thompson, of Indiana, and Elisha H. Allen stiffly objected to the reduction, and McKay opened his formidable battery for it. The committee rose. I moved to fix the 31st of this month to consider the French Claim bill, but failed.

25th. In the House, it had yesterday been agreed that the committees should be called for reports this morning; which was done. Among the reports made by Cowen, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, was a joint resolution from the Senate for a rule to take from claimants the right of reproducing claims which have been once rejected, unless with certificate from a member of Congress that he believes the claim to be just. I objected to this addition to the joint rules, and protested against it as restrictive upon the right of petition, which I considered as peculiarly requiring the observance and respect of the House with regard to claims against the Government, for the satisfac-

tion of which there was no resort to the judicial tribunals. Cave Johnson moved to make the resolution the special order of the day for next Friday week, but could not carry a vote of two-thirds, and it lies over. Numerous other reports of committees were made, and, among the rest, Meriwether, from the Committee on the Public Expenditures, made a detailed and thorough retrenchment report, with four bills, cutting deep into the army, the navy, the pay of the officers of the Federal Government, and the expenses in the collection of duties on imports.

I renewed the motion, by direction of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, to fix a day, the 31st of this month, to consider the French Claim bill. Cushing called the yeas and nays, which were eighty-three to eighty-six. Motion lost.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McKay in the chair, upon the Army bill. McKay resumed his argument, and offered an amendment as a substitute for that of Cave Johnson; which Johnson accepted. McKay proposed to reduce the number of men in the artillery and infantry regiments to the standard of the Act of 2d March, 1821—forty-two men to each company—and to disband the second regiment of dragoons, or to melt it up into a regiment of riflemen. Fillmore objected to McKay's amendment as not in order. The Chairman decided that it was. Cushing appealed, and that question was debated, till the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

26th. I had received a polite invitation from Mrs. Jones, wife of Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, now absent, commander of the squadron in the Pacific Ocean, to an evening party at Sharon, her residence in Fairfax County, Virginia, about nine miles from this city, and a note from Mr. Henry Dana Ward, of New York City, but a native of Massachusetts, urging me in very flattering terms to attend, it being the occasion of his marriage with Miss Charlotte Galbraith, of Dublin, Ireland. Mr. W. W. Irwin, member of the House from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, had informed me yesterday that he was also going to this party, and I agreed to take a hack jointly with him.

In the House, David Levy, the alien Jew delegate from Florida, moved a call for correspondence of the commanding officer of the army in Florida with the War Department since the 1st

of January last, and a resolution that there should be no cessation of hostilities till the Seminoles shall be effectively subdued. He told of a whole family butchered since the 1st of this month. Part of his first resolution was adopted.

The call of reports from committees was concluded from yesterday, and multitudes of them were made. One, from retrenchment Gilmer, about pay, mileage, and franking; one, from John C. Clark, from Committee of Commerce, on the light-house establishment, with a bill. Hiland Hall, Chairman of the select committee on the memorial of William Wright, reported a resolution authorizing the committee to go to Boston, to send for persons and papers, and to take testimony. Objections bristled up from the Democracy—quite eager for the investigation, but averse to the committee's going to Boston. Romulus M. Saunders moved to strike out that power; carried, by yeas and nays—eighty to ninety-six. The fraud being thus effectually screened, the committee were authorized to send for persons and papers, and to take testimony. Van Buren, a Demo. member of the committee, conscious of the humbug, moved to lay the whole subject on the table; but I called for the yeas and nays, and he withdrew his motion.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Underwood in the chair, on the Army Appropriation bill. Cushing made a speech of three hours against the reduction, and retrenchment Gilmer discoursed an hour in reply to him. Civil war in the corporal's guard. The committee rose, and the House adjourned, short of four o'clock.

Mr. Irwin and Mr. Cushing came in the hack at five, and took me up. We rode through Georgetown and over the canal- and river-bridges to Sharon, where we were received by Mrs. Commodore Jones and the Adjutant-General, Roger Jones, his brother. The marriage ceremony was performed by Dr. Thomas Balch, of Georgetown. The members of Congress present were Brockway, Saunders, Summers, and Taliaferro. Mrs. Morgan, Mrs. Rencher, and sundry other ladies were there. Heavy rain, a pitch-dark night, and Virginia roads constrained me to pass the night there. Slept in a room with Rencher, two beds on the floor.

27th. I rose soon after five, and found Mr. Irwin risen before me. He sent for our driver, who had put up his horses and carriage at a neighboring tavern. The rain had subsided, but the sky was yet beclouded. Commodore Jones's seat is a paradise in the wild, under his cultivation. The house was surrounded by trees, which were alive with the music of mocking-birds and robins; which reminded me of the nightingales of Little Boston House, at Ealing. Two Mr. Stuarts, father and son, with Mr. Taliaferro, amused us with conversation till our carriage came. The rest of our company who had remained over-night had not yet risen, and, just at six, Mr. Irwin and I started for home, leaving Cushing, who was one of the grooms-men, undisturbed in bed. Mr. Irwin stopped at his lodgings in the Seven Buildings, and the clock at the Treasury building struck eight as I passed by it on my way home.

After breakfast, Mr. Leavitt called upon me with the Madisonian newspaper of last Monday, which I had yesterday expressed to him the wish to see. It contains more than one ferociously belligerent article, which, as the Madisonian is avowedly the Tyler organ, has excited much notice and some apprehension of the Tyler policy.

28th. While the House was in session yesterday, a subpœna from the United States Circuit Court, now sitting in this city, was brought to me at my seat to appear before them to testify in the case of Dr. Robert Mayo against Blair and Rives, publishers of the Globe, for a libel. I went immediately to the City Hall, and found the Court in session. I was sworn, and testified, answering all the questions that were asked of me by the counsel of the parties. They related to the manner in which Dr. Mayo had communicated to me his letter to President Jackson of December, 1830, and the original draft of Jackson's letter to Fulton, Secretary of the Territory of Arkansas, concerning Houston's conspiracy to dismember Mexico and annex Texas to the United States. The examination was short, and I returned to the House before its adjournment.

29th. To the Representative hall, where Mr. Maffitt preached from Philippians iii. 20: "For our conversation is in heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus

Christ:" 21: "Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself." The subject was the resurrection—too capacious for the grasp and too weighty for the poise of Mr. Maffitt. The resurrection of the body is the profoundest mystery of the Christian religion and the most difficult article of the Christian faith. The perishable or corruptible property of matter seems to be so inseparable from it that imperishable or immortal matter is an incredible confusion of words. St. Paul pronounces the man who enquires with what body the dead shall rise, a fool; but he says, too, that the body that shall rise is not the same body that shall have died. He says that there is a spiritual body and a natural body. The body that dies is vile; the body that shall rise is glorious. "Behold," says the Apostle, "I show you a mystery."

And a mystery it remains, and will remain, till it shall please Almighty wisdom to reveal more of His eternal counsels to man. Mr. Maffitt enlarged much upon the usual argument for the resurrection, from analogy—the blade of grass, the blossom, and the leaf, and, above all, the transformations of the insect tribes. He described with more minuteness than precision the metamorphosis of a grub into a butterfly, which, he said, he had accidentally witnessed, for the first time, last spring. He gave also several of the passages from the Old Testament which seem to countenance the doctrine of the resurrection and of the immortality of the soul, particularly the passage from Job, "I know that my Redeemer liveth;" but not the remarkable passage in the book of Ecclesiastes, "Or ever the silver cord be loosened."

31st. In the House, Gwin, of Mississippi, offered a resolution that on Monday next, and for the rest of the session, the hour of meeting of the House shall be ten A.M.; adopted. At Rayner's motion, ten thousand copies of Kennedy's Colonial Commerce report were ordered to be printed. I presented the petition of William Willis, which was referred to the Committee of Revolutionary Claims.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Under-

wood in the chair, upon the Army Appropriation bill. McKeon resumed his speech—demagogical, rhetorical, classical, and sophistical, for about two hours. Fessenden, of Maine, made a very handsome speech against any reduction of the army, referring to my remarks against the increase of the army, and declaring his dissent from them. It was a spirited and powerful speech. Then came a pitched battle between Black and Warren, of Georgia, remarkable for the contrast of temper between fagot fire and steady flame. Ward made a steam-engine explosion in honor of the army and against any reduction, till half-past four, when Halsted took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

June 1st. Mr. Joseph Warren Newcomb, grandson of General Warren who fell at Bunker's Hill, called on me this morning to solicit my assistance to effect the passage of a bill in his favor reported by Mr. Parmenter from the Committee of Revolutionary Claims, No. 435. General Warren left four children, two sons and two daughters, who, by resolutions of Congress, were educated at the public expense. The claim is for seven years' half-pay, pledged by a resolution of 24th August, 1780, to the widows and children of officers dying in the service. Newcomb is the son of Mary the youngest daughter, and is the only living descendant from General Warren.

This was the first of the two days specially reserved by a resolution of the House for the consideration of bills relating to the District of Columbia; and Underwood, Chairman of the District, brought them forward, and the spirit of chicanery was instantly at work against them. It began by defeating the passage of the bill for the relief of the District banks, crippled several others, and forced a premature adjournment, by failure of a quorum on taking the question upon an amendment moved by Cave Johnson, introducing universal white suffrage for the election of Mayor and Councilmen; the vote was fifty-eight to fifty-seven. Call of the House refused. Adjourned.

2d. Dr. Parker came to take leave of me, being on the point of his departure for return to China. I told him that after the conversations he held with me last summer, an enquiry was made of me whether, if an embassy should be instituted, and the

mission should be offered to me, I would accept the appointment. I answered that if the question should be put to me from a quarter authorized to make the offer, I might consider it. I heard no more of that project, and all idea of carrying it into execution was abandoned. My own opinion was, that such a mission was inexpedient; but it was, and is, my opinion that an intelligent and discreet and spirited informal commissioner ought to have been and to be there, with full power to take advantage of any incident which might occur to open a communication with the Chinese Government, to sustain and promote the interests, political and commercial, of our country.

Dr. Parker said he entirely concurred in that opinion, and said he would add that he had seen the President, who assured him that he had his eye fixed upon China, and would avail himself of any favorable opportunity to commence a negotiation with the Celestial Empire.

At the House, the day was consumed on District business—the Alexandria Charter bill, laid on the table by motion of W. Cost Johnson, upon a motion of mine at the third reading to recommit the bill, with instructions to strike out the word "white." Sympathies of the Democracy of the Five Points with the Rhode Island suffragans, defeated.

3d. At the House, Garret Davis moved two resolutions of enquiry, whether the commission for the investigation of the affairs of the New York Custom-House still exists, and what it has cost, and from what fund the expense of it has been paid. Cushing and Proffit objected. Davis moved to suspend the rules. Cushing made a point of order, that a motion to suspend the rules could be made for only one resolution at a time. The Speaker overruled him, and Davis, to accommodate him, reduced his two resolutions into one. Proffit called for the yeas and nays; but they were refused, the rules were suspended, and the resolution was adopted.

W. B. Campbell made a second abortive attempt to suspend the rules for a joint resolution to adjourn on the 11th of July. There was a majority for the resolution, but not two-thirds—eighty-nine to eighty-four.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Under-

wood in the chair, upon the Army bill. Halsted and Cross made strong and sensible speeches against any reduction of the army; and Giddings, an unanswerable one for it; but he brought in the Creole case, and then began the interruptions, the calls to order, and the worryings, till he was crowded down.

4th. At the House, a Louisiana Land bill was, by the importunity of Dawson, taken from committee of the whole, and made the special order of the day for this day week.

A letter from the Secretary of War was yesterday presented by the Speaker, and read in the House, declining to communicate certain documents disclosing scandalous frauds of public men, in transactions with the Cherokee Indians, called for by a resolution of the House, of 18th May, moved by James Cooper, Chairman of the Committee of Indian Affairs. Cooper yesterday moved the reference of the Secretary's letter to that committee, and made some severe remarks upon the refusal of the documents.

The House had adjourned, without taking the question upon the reference, to which Cave Johnson had moved the addition of instructions to enquire and report upon the expediency of further action of the House upon the subject. When it was called up this morning, Cushing, having been absent when Cooper made his remarks yesterday, requested him to repeat them; which he did. Cushing then took up the cudgels for the Executive power, and stoutly defended the right of the Executive to refuse documents demanded by the House, charging usurpation upon the House for demanding them. He referred emphatically to Jefferson's Works, iv. 464, as to a precedent decisive of the question. I answered him, and took issue upon his principles. I referred to the message of President Washington in 1796, and the two resolutions of the House thereon. Spencer's letter was referred to the Indian Committee, but without Cave Johnson's instructions.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Underwood in the chair, in spite of Cowen's remonstrance. Army Appropriation bill. Long speech of Pope for the reduction of the army. David Levy, delegate from Florida, loquacious against it. Sputter of Cushing against Giddings for some of

his animadversions upon Cushing's belligerent propensities. Cushing's escapes are always upon by-ways. Levy did not finish.

5th. This morning I attended public worship at the hall of the House of Representatives, where Mr. Tustin was on duty; but the services were performed by the Rev. Mr. Talmage, said to be President of a college in Georgia. His sermon was from 1 John ii. 15: "Love not the world; neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." It was a discourse quite appropriate to the place in which it was delivered, and to the supposed auditory, consisting, as it should, chiefly of members of Congress. This is the principle upon which the appointment of Chaplains is justifiable and proper; and I consider it as one of my public duties, as a representative of the people, to give my attendance every Sunday morning when divine service is performed in the hall. The preacher of this day contrasted the love of the world with the love of God—a copious but hackneyed subject, on which nothing new can be said, but upon which the same that has been repeated a thousand times may properly be repeated again. There is a long and pungent satire of Juvenal upon the vanity and disappointments of human wishes; and the first line of the Satires of Persius—"O! curas hominum! O! quantum est in rebus inane!"—comprises the whole system of desponding philosophy—the philosophy of an earlier age, professed by the Grecian Heraclitus. Jesus and his religion first modified and moralized it, by presenting it in contrast with the love of God. Mr. Talmage's delivery was indifferent, accompanied with a disagreeable drawl, and yet considerably spirited. He gave out Watts's one hundredth psalm, by the name of the twenty-fifth hymn. The House was thin.

6th. From this day forward for the remnant of the session, the daily meeting of the House is to be at ten o'clock A.M. At half-past nine I was about stepping into my carriage to go to the House, when two morning visitors came in, one of them from Florida, wishing to have some conversation with me concerning the state of affairs in that Territory. I could not wait, and appointed to-morrow evening for him to call upon me

again. I was, however, so delayed that I found the House in session, and David Levy concluding his declamation against the reduction of the army. Cowen had given notice of his intention to move a revival of the hour rule. When David had expatiated about an hour, Fillmore attempted to take the floor, but Everett and I had both taken it. Fillmore yielded it to me, and I to Everett, who spoke about a quarter of an hour, professing a very earnest desire for the reduction of the army, but declaring that he should vote against the amendments proposed to this bill, because it was not the place nor the form in which the reduction was to be effected. He said, too, that this reduction was recommended by the Committee on the Public Expenditures, which had no jurisdiction in the case, the Military Committee being that which should have reported upon it.

I spoke about an hour and a half for the amendment, and the reduction of the army, admitting that this was not the bill nor the form in which the good work ought to have been accomplished, but saying that I must sacrifice form to substance, and take in any form the good which I could not effect in my own way.

Stanly replied to me with great power till one o'clock, when the debate was to cease. Roosevelt offered a compromise amendment, to fix the army at its present numbers without further increase or reduction; lost, by tellers—sixty-nine to one hundred and two. Cave Johnson's amendment, modified by mine, was carried in two divisions—1, to reduce the artillery and infantry regiments to the standard of 1821—one hundred and two to sixty-four; and 2, to withhold pay after the 30th of September next from the second regiment of dragoons—ninety-one to sixty-two. Other amendments followed; the bill was reported to the House, and postponed, to be printed for engrossment to-morrow.

8th. In the House, after passing over several subjects first in order upon the Speaker's table, Cushing moved to refer to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union the resolution reported by him from the Committee of Foreign Affairs, requesting the President to institute negotiations with Great

Britain concerning our commercial relations with her American Colonies.

Pickens and Fessenden discussed the question without absolutely opposing the motion. I said a few words in support of the reference, and Lowell claimed the floor just at the expiration of the morning hour, and the House passed to the motion of Cushing to print five thousand extra copies of the New York Custom-House reports. On this motion Cushing made another elaborate speech.

Underwood moved a long amendment, denying the right of the President to institute an investigating commission without authority by law; and beginning with a declaration that the House does not approve or sanction the institution of this commission. This was carried, under the strangulation by the previous question of all debate, by yeas and nays—eighty-six to eighty-three. I then moved to lay the whole subject on the table, which had just before been refused, but was now carried by yeas and nays—ninety-six to seventy-six.

9th. There was a misstatement in the journal, that the motion yesterday to lay the whole subject of Cushing's motion to print extra copies of the New York Custom-House investigation reports on the table was made by McKeon. It was made by me, because a majority of three votes had already adopted one-half of a proviso encroaching upon the constitutional powers of the President, for which McKeon had voted; and his motion was only to lay on the table the remnant of the proviso; and he merely asked whether that motion was in order. My motion was to lay on the table the whole subject; and I made it to prevent the consummation of a flagrant outrage upon the Constitution.

The Speaker, after some hesitation, entertained my motion, and it was carried by a majority of twenty votes. I now moved to amend the journal, to make it conformable to the fact; which the Speaker said should be done.

Fillmore moved a bill from the Committee of Ways and Means, for extending the present impost duties to the 1st of August, with a proviso securing the distribution to the States of the proceeds of the public lands on the approaching 1st of

July, the proviso being additional to the bill reported by him last Tuesday. Cushing's motion to refer to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union the resolution from the Committee of Foreign Affairs requesting the President to enter into negotiation with the Government of Great Britain concerning our commercial intercourse with their American Colonies, was taken up, after an hour's speech from Lowell. The motion was carried, without a division to refer the resolution.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McKennan in the chair. Fillmore's Tariff bill was taken up. Saltonstall moved to strike out the whole bill, and insert the bill reported by him from the Committee of Manufactures. After some discussion upon points of order, Fillmore, in a speech of two hours, opened his whole bill to debate; after which, Habersham moved an amendment to Saltonstall's bill, and it was ordered to be printed.

10th. There was a large wedding-party last evening at the house of Mr. Samuel L. Gouverneur, to witness the nuptials of his daughter with Dr. Heiskell, and a much more numerous company after the ceremony was over. President Tyler, the Secretaries of War and the Navy, Spencer and Upshur, with their families, Mrs. Madison, Lord Ashburton, with his Secretaries, Mr. Bodisco, sundry members of both Houses of Congress, General Scott, and several officers of the army and navy, were present at the solemnity, performed by Mr. Hawley, rector of St. John's, according to the rites of the Protestant Episcopal Church. We came home soon after ten; but the dissipation of the evening infected this morning with idleness.

In the House, Pendleton and Everett attempted to introduce resolutions for abridging debate in committees of the whole; but without success. Fillmore called up out of time his second Tariff Extension bill, with the proviso substantially repealing the suspension of the payment of the proceeds of the public lands to the States, which is to be made for the first six months on the first day of the next month, but will be defeated unless the condition annexed to it, that the payment shall be suspended so long as an impost duty of more than twenty per

cent. shall be levied upon any one article of merchandise, (should be withdrawn.) In continuing the existing tariff till the 1st of August, the object of the bill is to discard the restriction without reducing any of the duties to twenty per cent.; and it roused all the anti-protective frenzy of the South against it.

Underwood made a fair and candid speech, avowing his ardent desire to secure the payment of the proceeds of the public lands to the States. He said this bill would produce some curious developments as to the opinions of the members of the House upon the tariff in embryo. And the developments immediately came. Pickens, and Wise, and Cushing, and Proffit, and Foster, of Georgia, came out like furies against the land distribution, and Gilmer took the floor. Fillmore made an abortive attempt to take the bill out of committee. They rose twice, and at half-past four the House adjourned.

11th. The meeting last evening at Mr. Markoe's was for the purpose of conferring upon the project of connecting the organization of the National Institute for the Promotion of Science, with that for the Establishment of Science. Mr. Poinsett is President of the former, and presided at the meeting. Mr. Preston has introduced into the Senate a bill for combining together these two institutions, and now stated to the meeting his views on the subject, embracing an appropriation of twenty thousand dollars, and the occupation by law of a large portion of the Patent-Office building for the preservation and arrangement of the objects of curiosity collected by the exploring expedition under Lieutenant Wilkes, now daily expected home; and he called on me to say how far my purposes may be concurrent with these suggestions.

I said I had the warmest disposition to favor them, and thought there was but one difficulty in the way, which might perhaps be surmounted. I had believed that the whole burden and the whole honor of the Smithsonian Institution should be exclusively confined to itself, and not entangled or commingled with any national establishment requiring appropriations of public money. I exposed the principles upon which all my movements relating to the Smithsonian bequest have been founded, as well as the bills which at four successive Congresses

I have reported—first for obtaining the money, and then for disposing of the fund.

At the motion of Mr. Walker, of Mississippi, the President, Poinsett, was authorized to appoint a committee of five members of the Institute, to confer with Mr. Preston and me upon the means of connecting the Smithsonian Institution with the National Institute.

At the House, Mr. Cushing offered a resolution calling on the President of the United States for copies of the report of the joint commission upon the claims against Mexico, and of documents showing the condition of the claims upon which the Commissioners did not report; which was adopted.

This day had been assigned, by some legerdemain of the Louisiana members, for the consideration of a bill for the confirmation of certain land claims in the State of Louisiana; and it consumed the day. Cave Johnson, the rabid Democrat, manfully resisted it, and, in a speech of nearly three hours, demonstrated that a great portion of the claims were rotten with fraud and corruption; but Edward D. White and Moore sustained them with ardent speeches; and Dawson, the Democrat, silently defended the Loco-foco brood, and the bill was driven through with indecent precipitation, in spite of Cave's unanswerable exposure of the fraud. The yeas and nays on the passage of the bill were eighty-four to seventy-three.

12th. The party at the President's house last evening consisted of about a hundred persons, invited by Mrs. Robert Tyler. Mrs. Madison, with her niece, Anna Payne, my family and myself, and all the remnants of President Monroe's family —the bride, Mrs. Heiskell, being the only surviving grandchild of Mr. Monroe. There was dancing in the now gorgeously furnished East Room, and an elegant supper. The courtesies of the President and of Mrs. R. Tyler to their guests were all that the most accomplished European court could have displayed. The President led the bride in to the supper-table, and requested me to escort Mrs. Robert Tyler. Lord Ashburton followed with Mrs. Madison, and Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State, with my wife. After supper I had a long conversation with Lord Ashburton, and went into the room where Mr.

Healy is copying the full-length portrait of President Washington, and where the portrait of Mr. Guizot, painted by him, is deposited. He has also the President's daughter Alice, painted by him. It was within five minutes of midnight when we came home.

13th. At the House, Stanly presented a second self-vindicatory letter of Poindexter, upon which the House took no order, not even to lay it on the table.

I offered the resolution calling on the President for copies of the Quintuple Treaty for the suppression of the African slave-trade, of Cass's protest against it, and the correspondence with him and with France concerning it. The resolution was adopted without opposition.

Pendleton moved an addition to the one hundred and twenty-third rule, in substance extending the call for the previous question to debates in committee of the whole. The motion was laid on the table; but Botts afterwards moved a reconsideration of that vote, which lies over till to-morrow.

Medill offered a resolution of instruction to the Judiciary Committee to report immediately a bill to refund to Andrew Jackson the fine of one thousand dollars, imposed on him by Judge Hall in 1815, with interest from that time to this. A resolution of the Ohio Legislature, calling upon Congress to do this, has been upwards of three months referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. C. J. Ingersoll wanted to claim the floor, to take to himself the blame of not having reported the bill; but the previous question silenced him, and, after a refusal of the House to lay the resolution on the table, it was laid over till to-morrow.

Cowen, of Ohio, moved the re-adoption of the one-hour rule, which, after a call of the House, and a desperate struggle against it, was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and twenty to eighty-four.

The amendments of the Senate to the Apportionment bill were then taken up, at the motion of Horace Everett, who, after a short speech, moved to concur in all the Senate's amendments, and the previous question. My indignation kindled, I entreated him to withdraw the call for the previous

question; but he refused. He could not obtain a second. I moved to disagree with the Senate's first amendment—the ratio—and to concur with the second—the representation of fractions. The debate consumed the day. The House maintained their own ratio, by yeas and nays—one hundred and twelve to ninety-five—and adjourned.

Evening meeting of the National Institute for the Promotion of Science. Mr. Poinsett presided. Mr. Preston made a splendid speech, and President Tyler was there.

14th. In the House, John Young, of Western New York, a changeable Whig, moved, on further reflection, to reconsider the vote of yesterday, non-concurring with the amendment of the Senate, changing the ratio of the apportionment from fifty thousand one hundred and seventy-nine to seventy thousand six hundred; and, after a long wrangling debate, the question of reconsideration was taken by yeas and nays, and lost—one hundred and six to one hundred and eight; after which I moved to concur with the second amendment of the Senate, providing for the representation of fractions by allowing one additional member for every State whose fraction will amount to more than half the standard number.

Thompson, of Mississippi, moved to strike out one-half and insert thirty thousand, maintaining that the fraction of less than thirty thousand would conflict with the letter of the Constitution.

I argued that the main reason assigned by President Washington rested avowedly on a construction of the words in the Constitution which I thought not correct; and I showed that, by allowing the representation for the fractions, with our standard there would be eleven additional members, representing five hundred and fifty-eight thousand constituents, the aggregate of all the fractions, and, far from bringing any member within the limit of thirty thousand souls, would give to each member more than the standard of fifty thousand one hundred and seventy-nine. But W. Cost Johnson made a warm and vehement speech against the amendment. The veto of President Washington was read; and after the rejection of Jacob Thompson's amendment, without a division, the fractional

amendment itself was rejected, by yeas and nays—fifty-five to one hundred and eighty-three. The specific changes of numbers, connected with the alteration of the standard number, were all rejected by one motion to disagree to all of them, and then a resolution offered by Fillmore was carried, to take the temporary Tariff bill out of the committee at two o'clock P.M. to-morrow; and committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McKennan in the chair, immediately followed. Gilmer, W. Cost Johnson, and Gordon debated the question of suspending the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands. Pope took the floor at half-past four, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

15th. Lieutenant Wilkes, in his conversation with me last evening, complained bitterly of the reception which he had met from the President of the United States and the Secretary of the Navy. He said that his name had been omitted from the list of nominations for promotion in the navy, recently submitted by the President to the Senate; while the name of an officer whom he had been obliged to send home under arrest had been included in it. That officer, while under arrest, had been permitted to make charges utterly frivolous and futile against him; and, contrary to the first principles of justice, and what he believed the universal usage, those charges had been entertained. All the other officers and men returned from the expedition, after three years of hardships, toils, and dangers, had naturally expected to be welcomed home with some cheering smile and some kind word from the Government of their country. They had found, instead of this, a cold and insulting silence. Had this ungenerous treatment been confined to himself, he would have borne it with patience; but, extended as it was to all the gallant and meritorious men, and to the accomplished officers and artists and men of science, whose labors had achieved results of which they might well be proud, it had overpowered him; and all the anxieties and cares and sufferings of the whole three years were as nothing to the anguish he had endured within the last five days. I said little in answer to him, but must wait to hear the statements of the other side.

At the House, after two or three resolutions offered and adopted, or laid over, and two or three bills reported, the Provisional Tariff bill, extending the collection of duties till the 1st of August, and repealing the suspension of the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, was taken up in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McKennan, an excellent Chairman, in the chair. The proviso was the only stumbling-block between the parties, and that was sharply debated by W. Cost Johnson, Pope, John W. Jones, White, of Indiana, J. P. Kennedy, Arnold, and Habersham, till two o'clock—fixed for taking the question. Numerous captious amendments were then successively proposed, and rejected. The question upon striking out the proviso was lost, by yeas and nays—one hundred and seven to one hundred and thirteen. The bill was then ordered to be engrossed, and passed, by yeas and nays—one hundred and sixteen to one hundred and three.

Everett then called up the Apportionment bill, returned from the Senate, insisting upon the amendments disagreed to by the House. He moved to recede, and Wise moved the previous question. The House refused to recede, by yeas and nays—one hundred and eighty-four to one hundred and ten. W. Cost Johnson moved to adhere; but the House refused that—eighty to one hundred and twenty-seven. Adjourned.

16th. At the House, Ridgway, one of the members from the State of Ohio, presented a petition that the House would rescind the resolution of censure upon Joshua R. Giddings; but the House did nothing with it. Stanly moved the appointment of a select committee to investigate the expenditures on account of Virginia military bounty land warrants—from which sprang a debate, and Hiland Hall opened a hideous sink of corruption, till he was arrested by the expiration of the morning hour. Then came a snarling party struggle about the printing of extra copies of certain tabular tariff statements. Apportionment bill. Garret Davis moved to reconsider the vote of yesterday, refusing to recede from the disagreement to the Senate's amendments. Thompson, of Indiana, moved the previous question. The reconsideration was carried, by yeas and

nays—one hundred and one to ninety-seven; so a vote of one hundred and ten was reconsidered by a vote of one hundred and one. Everett then moved to recede, and Thompson, of Indiana, moved again the previous question; but a motion to adjourn, moved at once by Botts and Bowne, in the vain hope of turning the tide again to-morrow, was carried. An out-of-door negotiation with Southern slave-holders and Northern Five-Points Democrats has accomplished this revolution in the voting of the House, all linked together by a common hatred, envy, jealousy, and fear of one man. It is an exact counterpart of the restoration of the gag-rule, effected in the same manner and by the same tactics.

17th. Charles J. Ingersoll, from the Judiciary Committee, reported a bill for the relief of General Andrew Jackson. He presented also a report of the minority of the committee, three in number, and moved that it be printed. Barnard, Chairman of the committee, feebly objected to the printing; but it was carried. The Apportionment bill was then taken up. The previous question had been called last evening on the motion to recede from the disagreement to the Senate's amendments; and now, by four successive votes, the previous question bearing upon them all, the House receded from their disagreement, by yeas and nays—one hundred and nine to one hundred and four. Gwin moved the previous question on Everett's motion to concur, which cut off all amendment. Boyd moved to lay the bill on the table; lost—ninety to one hundred and eighteen. The vote to concur with the Senate's ratio was one hundred and thirteen to one hundred and three; and that allowing fractional representation, one hundred and eleven to one hundred and two. The alteration of numbers specifically assigned to each State was agreed to without a division; and the bill, with all the Senate's amendments, was passed. Thompson moved a reconsideration of the vote concurring with the fractional representation, which was also rejected without yeas and nays.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McKennan in the chair, on the Tariff bill. Saltonstall made his hour speech. Habersham took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

18th. At the House, Edward D. White, by an explosion of indignant eloquence, and a suspension of the rules, introduced, and drove through by a headlong impulse, a bill taking away the power of holding to bail on mesne process a debtor, unless upon affidavit of the debt by the creditor. He declaimed about liberty and the natural inalienable rights of man, as if there was not a slave in his State or in this District. If I had said one word about slavery I should have had the whole pack of Southern doulocracy and Northern servility upon me, produced merely a brawl, and been branded as a firebrand in my own land of the Pilgrims. I retired, in utter disgust, without the bar, and suffered this paroxysm of frenzy for the rights of man, to liberate one Louisiana constituent of Edward D. White from imprisonment for want of bail, leaving six thousand slaves to drag their lengthened chain for life, and as inheritance for their children forever.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McKennan in the chair. Tariff bill. Habersham made an hour speech, minority; and A. V. Brown, an anti-tariff speech. Committee rose. I gave notice that I would move next Saturday to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the French Claim bill. Adjourned just after three.

19th. I went to the Capitol, and heard the Rev. Mr. Edgar, of Nashville, Tennessee, upon Matthew xi. 6: "And blessed is he whosoever shall not be offended in me." Mr. Edgar can hardly yet be called an elderly man. He is a handsome speaker, with a strong, clear voice, a good delivery, plain piety, sound sense, and rational religion. He did not allude to the circumstances under which the words were spoken, nor attempt to explain the reason why John the Baptist, who at his first meeting with Jesus had so energetically proclaimed him "The Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world," should afterwards have sent from prison to enquire of Jesus, "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" Sterne's thirty-sixth sermon is upon this same text; and I thought he had accounted for this message from the Baptist, as an indirect appeal to Jesus to release him from prison by a miracle—the liberation of prisoners being, from the prophecy of Isaiah lxi. 1, 2, the special

object of the mission of the Messiah; but on referring to Sterne's sermon I find that although it does allude to the message from John, it does not account for it, nor mark the peculiar point of Christ's answer with reference to John's own situation as prompted to the message. Mr. Edgar confined himself to enumerating the causes of taking offence with the Christian religion, and with exhortation to the duty of forbearing to take such offence. His argument might have been greatly fortified by illustrations of comparison and contrast between the causes of offence in the Christian, now operating upon the hearts and minds of men, and that against which the answer of Jesus admonished John to be upon his guard. I cannot pursue this disquisition.

20th. In the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, I offered a resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury to report to the House as soon as may be practicable, after the 1st of July now impending, the amount paid or credited to the several States of the Union from the proceeds of the sales of the public lands; the amount retained in payment of interest or principal of debts due from the States to the United States; and the amount due from the indebted States to the United States. My resolution was received and adopted without opposition and without remark.

T. B. King presented a petition from certain inhabitants of Alexandria, praying to be re-ceded to the State of Virginia, so that they may enjoy the right of suffrage in the election of members of Congress. I opposed it, as being a petition for the dissolution of the Union, and moved its reference to a committee of one member from each State, with instructions to report against it. King himself moved its reference to a committee of one member from each State; but a motion to lay it on the table was carried by a large majority, with refusal of the yeas and nays.

A message from the President was received, but not communicated by the Speaker to the House. It was in answer to the call, made at my motion, for copies of the Quintuple Treaty, of Cass's protest, and all the correspondence concerning it. He says that no copy has been officially communicated to this

Government, and that he therefore cannot send an authentic copy; and he declines sending the other papers, believing it incompatible with the public interest.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McKennan in the chair, on the Tariff bill. Hiram P. Hunt made an hour speech for a protective tariff; John Van Buren, anti-tariff; Brockway and Thompson, of Indiana, both protective; Cowen, of Ohio, took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

Richard D. Davis, of Poughkeepsie, New York, came and professed some unexpected opinions to me. Nimium ne crede colori.

21st. Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger, Caruthers, Meriwether, Stuart; absent, Shepperd and White.

I mentioned the message yesterday received from the President, but not presented to the House, and said I thought it contained a controvertible principle. I said, if the committee should think proper to notice it, I would, when it should be presented by the Speaker, move its reference to the committee; but if not, I would move it should be laid on the table and printed. I was instructed to move its reference to the committee. As soon as the journal was read in the House, I reminded the Speaker of the message; and he presented it. When read, I moved its reference to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and printed; which was adopted without opposition.

Gilmer then growled for an hour against Hiland Hall for detecting and exposing a multitude of gross frauds perpetrated in the claims relating to the Virginia military land warrants; after which, in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McKennan in the chair, Cowen, of Ohio, made an earnest hour speech for a protective tariff; Andrew Kennedy, a craving, croaking, and brawling, vulgar, hour, anti-tariff, and, above all, anti-Whig speech; and Steenrod, a deep-toned, tragedy-queen declamation, on the same side. Fornance, a drivelling changeable from Pennsylvania, drawled out, with a nasal twang, an hour of ambidexter neutrality. These men had succeeded in driving the members from their seats, till there was no quorum. No member rose to speak. The ques-

tion upon Habersham's amendment was actually taken by tellers, and lost—thirty-seven to eighty-five. Pickens said he wished to speak, but was not ready; so the bill was laid aside, and the Indian Appropriation bill was taken up and worried through the committee and reported to the House. McKay there made some show of resistance, and said he could expose an enormous fraud in the largest item of appropriation in the bill; but the House was impatient, and, without listening to McKay, passed the bill to the third reading, and, if it had been engrossed, would have passed it then. But I entreated them to hear McKay, and they ordered the third reading for to-morrow.

22d. My visitors yesterday were two Quakers from Maine, going as missionaries from New England and New York conferences, to hold communion with the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi, and applied to me for advice—which I gave them according to my ability; Ex-Captain Clark, to whom I returned his papers, requesting him to excuse me from giving him my opinion upon his case—because I regretted that I could not give an opinion which would please him.

Mr. Mitchel is a Professor of Mathematics of Cincinnati, where he delivered last winter a course of lectures, he says, to three thousand persons, and he kindled such a passion for astronomy in that city that they have formed an astronomical society, with stock, in shares of twenty-five dollars each, and have raised a fund of thirty thousand dollars to erect and furnish an observatory, for which purpose he is now going to England. Mr. Pendleton introduced this gentleman to me on the floor of the House, and he came last evening to my house, with a young man named Baker, also from Cincinnati, a sculptor, bound to Florence, in imitation of Greenough, and Powers, and Clevenger.

I gave Mr. Mitchel a copy of my report to the House, of March, 1840, on the Smithsonian bequest, and he all but begged of me letters to my friends in Europe. There is an obtrusiveness of braggart vanity in the man, which he passes off for scientific enthusiasm, and which is very annoying.[1]

[1] Scant praise for Mitchel; but Mr. Adams knew him better afterwards—though he did not live to appreciate his patriotic services in the war.

Franklin Whitney, from New Bedford, is an inventor, who fancies he has been wronged by the Commissioner of Patents, and has prepared a memorial to Congress for redress. Mr. Burnell is to present it to the House; and Mr. Whitney requests my influence in his behalf.

Dr. and Mrs. Baldwin were occasional visitors; but the Doctor has a claim against Mexico, and a memorial to Congress concerning it, which invokes sympathy, to which my feeling responds more freely than my reason.

In the House, this day, Casey made a thrust to drive through a land pre-emption plunder bill, partly but not wholly successful. Goggin scolded his hour at Hiland Hall for exposing the frauds of Virginia military land warrants; and W. O. Goode took the floor to follow him. In committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McKennan in the chair, Pickens spouted for his hour anti-tariff statistics against the Tariff bill; Snyder, of Pennsylvania, ditto—and, by way of originality, exhibited a pair of coarse worsted socks of home manufacture. The members one by one stole away from their seats. The debate languished. Smith, of Virginia, "Extra Billy,"[1] took the floor, but was not ready. Cushing blazed out like a fagot for patriotism, against the equality of mankind, and Wise corrected him—both blundering and buzzing like beetles against the ceiling till they capsized and dropped on the floor.

23d. After the forensic disputation between Cushing and Wise, yesterday, about the natural equality of mankind, and patriotism, J. P. Kennedy took the floor, and the committee rose. Fillmore gave notice that he should move to-morrow to take up the Senate's amendments to the Navy Appropriation bill, and the House after four adjourned.

Mr. Horsley Palmer had visited at my house, and left a letter of introduction from C. A. Davis, of New York.

Mr. Mitchel, of Cincinnati, sent to my seat for me, and asked me for a letter of introduction to the Astronomer Royal; and I complied with his request.

[1] A nickname given to him for certain extra charges which he was in the habit of making whilst engaged as a contractor for carrying the mails over roads in the State of Virginia.

This morning I called at the office of the Commissioner of Pensions, and left with him a document in support of a widow's pension claim; then at the Navy Department, and after waiting a full half-hour for David Levy, the delegate from Florida, to close his interview with the Secretary, I succeeded him in the office. I made some enquiries about the amendments of the Senate to the Navy Appropriation bill, which neither he nor I could understand. Upon another half-hour's conversation with him I found it would be necessary for me to pursue my own course upon the bill, without regard to his opinions.

I came to the House, and found Barker Burnell inveighing against the reduction of the appropriations; after which, Charles J. Ingersoll delivered his hour talk for and against the appropriation, and the navy. Meriwether, who followed him, said he had argued both sides of the question so well that he had left him in doubt on which side he would vote. Meriwether himself pressed his retrenchment reductions with great vigor and vehemence. He attacked the Secretary with great severity for the errors in his estimates; he commented also with indignation upon the speeches of Buchanan and Bayard, in the Senate, censuring the conduct of the House of Representatives.

Sprigg came next, with a wild rhapsody for reducing the expenditures, and against the navy.

I spoke about half an hour against agreeing to the Senate's amendment reducing the item of appropriation for pay, and also against their amendment sanctioning the appointment of navy officers till the close of the present session, and providing that hereafter midshipmen shall be appointed from the several States, Territories, and Districts according to federal numbers in the service; and I adduced proofs from public documents, positive proofs, of extreme disproportions in the appointments of naval officers, in favor of the States of Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, and against Massachusetts.

24th. In the House, the resolution of enquiry by a select committee about the appropriations for the allowance of Virginia military land warrants came up. W. O. Goode followed the Virginia pack against Hall. James Cooper moved the previous

question, but withdrew it at the request of Hall, to give him the opportunity to reply to the Virginia vituperations. Fillmore moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union; but Cowen claimed the day for private business, and the House sustained him. There were fifty-two private bills engrossed for a third reading, which were read by their titles, and passed. A bill for the relief of Hugh Stewart was rejected, by yeas and nays—seventy to seventy-eight. I voted against it, because, on hearing the report read, I saw no sufficient proof in it of the justice of the claim. Samuel S. Bowne, of Cooperstown, Otsego, New York, voted against it, and immediately after moved a reconsideration of the vote—a practice very common in the House, but which I deem neither fair nor honest.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, John C. Clark, of Bainbridge, Chenango, New York, in the chair. Two or three cases were taken up and passed to be reported, without examination or enquiry. A bill purporting to be for the relief of James C. Watson, of the State of Georgia, filthy with the stench of slave-trade abominations, was passing with the same silent connivance of the servile North. Giddings had spoken to me of the abomination of this bill; but Giddings was not in his seat, nor was Slade in his. In three minutes the bill would have been reported to the House without amendment, and passed through by the screw of the previous question. I rose, and moved to strike out the enacting clause of the bill; and Mark A. Cooper blazed out for the slave-trade. Caruthers had reported the bill with a report, and said he could satisfy me in a very few words with the justice of the claim. The Chairman said, if the bill was to be debated it must lie over, and directed the Clerk to take up the next. Cooper sputtered and blustered and rioted, till he declared he would object to every bill called up, until my objection to the bill for the relief of Watson—the result of which was that Cooper disgraced himself in the face of the world; but I have no time or space here to tell how.

25th. Dr. Mayo called on me yesterday morning, just as I was going out to the Capitol, and asked me if I could let

him have the letter which he wrote me early in 1838, when he furnished me copies of his letter to President Jackson, of 2d December, 1830, and of that of 10th December, 1830, from Jackson to W. Fulton, then Secretary of the Territory of Arkansas.

I told him that if I had received from him such a letter, of which my recollection was indistinct, it must be on my files of letters of the year 1838, which were at Quincy; that of course I could not furnish the letter now, but on my return to Quincy I expected I could find it, in which case it should be at his service. The verdict of the jury in the Doctor's suit for a libel against Blair and Rives, editors of the Globe, was against him. He says that his counsel, Mr. Coxe, will move the Court for a new trial, on the ground that the verdict was against law and evidence, and has no doubt that he will succeed. He intimated that the affidavit of James D. Westcott, in 1830, Secretary in the Territory of Florida, and himself an enormous speculator in Texas adventure, had operated much against him before the jury; and he left a copy of it with me. Mr. Westcott says he was perfectly well acquainted with Houston's projects in 1829 for the emancipation of Texas, and largely shared in them; but that he never received from President Jackson such a letter as that to Fulton.

This morning I called at the Treasury Department, to enquire for the report on the call for a return of State debts. I met McClintock Young in the entry on the lower floor, who told me that the report had been sent to the House. I went immediately to the Capitol, for a day of business so diversified, multiplied, and important that I can make no record of it. My call on the Secretary of the Navy for returns of native seamen by States had been left last evening under the previous question, and a forced adjournment for want of a quorum; but there were five or six other fragments of unfinished business to be taken up in turn, and I had last week given notice that I should move this day to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the French Claim bill. I got the floor by moving an amendment of the journal, which was clear, and made without opposition; and, while up, refer-

ring to my notice given, I moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up that bill; but I had numerous competitors for the floor. Mark A. Cooper and Black consumed an hour and a half to bully and browbeat the House to rescind the record of Cooper's disgrace on the journal. Hiland Hall took the morning hour to flay T. W. Gilmer, on the Virginia military land warrants. The struggle for the floor was continued through a great part of the day. Several bills at their third reading were passed without opposition. Two reports from the Secretary of the Treasury were presented by the Speaker—one of them the answer to the call of the House last summer for a return of the State debts, which at my motion was ordered to be laid on the table and printed. By dint of importunities, I obtained the adoption of my resolution offered yesterday, calling on the Secretary of the Navy for returns of native and naturalized seamen by States; to which Cave Johnson succeeded in adding an amendment concerning the cost of ships.

Fillmore moved a suspension of the rules to take up the amendments of the Senate to the temporary tariff; he failed by a vote of one hundred and twenty-seven to sixty-six—not quite two-thirds. The bill was nevertheless soon after taken up; the previous question called, and carried, on the amendments of the Senate, containing the suspension of the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands to the States from the 1st of July to the 1st of August. This surrender of all the proceeds of the public lands was perpetrated by a Whig vote of one hundred and four to ninety-six. Bowne's motion to reconsider the vote rejecting the bill for the relief of Hugh Stewart was carried—ninety-five to forty-three; and the bill was passed—eighty-seven to sixty-nine.

I voted for the reconsideration, and for the bill, upon explanation made to me this morning by Mr. Nye. I moved so often to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union that I finally succeeded, by tellers—sixty-two to sixty. Kennedy had the floor on his report and bill from the Committee of Commerce, but yielded it to me, and I moved to take up the French Claim bill; carried, by tellers—seventy-

two to seventy. Dixon H. Lewis instantly moved the committee to rise; lost, by tellers—sixty-six to seventy-nine. At last the Clerk read the bill through, and I then made an exposition of claims, and had read, by the Clerk, B. Howard's report as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in March, 1838. I moved the committee to rise, and report the bill; but Arnold made a heated speech against the bill, Tillinghast a short one in its favor, and Hunter moved the committee to rise, for the chance of another day to pour out his volley against it, and the committee rose.

John Tyler, Jr., delivered to the Speaker a message from the President of the United States, announcing to the House that he had approved and signed the Apportionment bill, and had sent with the bill, to the Department of State, his reasons for signing it. I moved that the message be referred to a select committee, with power to send for persons and papers. I gave my reasons for this motion, which were answered with great violence by Wise. Adjourned after five o'clock.

27th. Met the members of the Massachusetts delegation in both Houses of Congress, in the committee-room of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads of the House. I nominated Isaac C. Bates as Chairman, and he was chosen. Choate was also present; and Baker, Borden, Briggs, Hudson, and Parmenter, whom I had taken up in the Pennsylvania Avenue. Burnell was also there; but neither Appleton, Calhoun, Cushing, nor Saltonstall was there. A motion was made, and it was voted, that I should announce Mr. Hastings's decease to the House.

While we were there, Mr. Yorke, of the New Jersey delegation in the House, came in and delivered to me a note from Mr. Maxwell, informing me of the death of Samuel L. Southard, late President of the Senate—he died yesterday morning, at Fredericksburg, Virginia—and requesting me to announce the event to the House, or to follow the member from the State who shall announce it. After some consultation, it was agreed that the death of Mr. Hastings should be announced in the House, and that of Mr. Southard in the Senate, this day, but that the latter should not be communicated to the House

till to-morrow, when the funeral is to take place. Accordingly, as soon as the journal had been read, I rose, and announced the death of William Soden Hastings, a member of the House, from the Ninth Congressional District of Massachusetts; and, after a short address to the House upon his character, I moved the usual resolutions of the deep sensibility of the House at the decease of Mr. Hastings, and that the members will wear crape thirty days—which were unanimously adopted; also, that the Speaker inform the Governor of Massachusetts of the vacancy in the delegation from that State, and then that the House do adjourn.

28th. In the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, the Secretary of the Senate, Asbury Dickins, came in with two messages—one communicating a resolution honorary to the memory of William S. Hastings, adopted on receiving from the House the message announcing his decease; and the other communicating to the House the decease of Samuel L. Southard, late a Senator from the State of New Jersey, and inviting the House to attend his funeral this day from the Senate-chamber at eleven o'clock. John P. B. Maxwell then rose, and delivered a funeral eulogy upon Mr. Southard, closing with a direct appeal to me, and moving the honorary resolutions—one of which was that the House would attend the funeral. I seconded the motion, and responded to the appeal of Mr. Maxwell by pronouncing a brief panegyric upon Mr. Southard, which he had well deserved at my hands.

The House adjourned, and I followed with Mr. Granger, immediately after the Speaker and Clerk, in the procession to the Senate-chamber, where the impressive funeral solemnities were performed by Mr. Tustin, the Chaplain of the Senate. Mr. Maffitt, the Chaplain to the House, was not present. Mr. Tustin made a long prayer, read the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and preached a discourse of nearly an hour upon John xiv. 1: "Let not your heart be troubled." The corpse was not brought into the Senate-chamber. In the procession of carriages to the grave-yard, I went with the Speaker, and Clerk, and Mr. Appleton. We

returned to the Capitol, and left the Speaker and Clerk there. I left Mr. Appleton at his lodgings, and came home. The President and his Cabinet were at the Senate-chamber, but did not go to the grave. My address to the House this day was less pleasing than that of yesterday.

29th. I called up my resolution for the appointment of a select committee upon the masked veto message. I had some difficulty in getting it up, and, foreseeing that my right to speak to it a second time would be denied, I offered a modification of it, that the committee should consist of five members. Landaff W. Andrews, who had the floor, yielded it to me. Objection was made to my speaking a second time; but the Speaker said that the resolution having been modified since I spoke, it was no longer to the same question. So indispensable is small management in this great assembly. But for this little artifice, I should surely have been silenced. I spoke a full hour, and brought out all my objections to the masked veto.

When I finished, Landaff W. Andrews moved the previous question; seconded—seventy-five to seventy-two. Proffit moved the yeas and nays on the question, Shall the main question be now put? yeas and nays, one hundred and seven to ninety-seven. Boyd moved to lay the whole subject on the table; yeas and nays, ninety-one to one hundred and seven. I proposed then to modify the resolution by striking out the power to send for persons and papers; but this was objected to. I therefore required, and McKay moved to divide the question. The reference was carried without division, and the power to send for persons and papers was rejected.

The Indian Appropriation bill was then taken up. McKay made a feeble demonstration of enormous abuses, and Gwin moved a new section; but the previous question swept off all else, and the bill was passed.

John Tyler, Jr., brought in a message from the President, returning the Little Tariff bill, with his objections to its passage, which produced a burst of indignation from Granger and Fillmore, of exultation from Holmes, of Jesuitism and double-dealing from Cushing, replied to with spirit and vivacity by

Saltonstall. Briggs took the floor, and at five the House adjourned.

30th. At the House, this morning, Fillmore offered a resolution of enquiry of the Secretary of the Treasury, whether he has changed his opinion since he reported to the House that it might well be doubted whether without further legislation by Congress any impost duties can be collected after this day; and, if so, what has caused the change? Adopted without opposition.

John McKeon came to my seat with a resolution which he was about to offer, directing the Committee of Naval Affairs to enquire into the expediency of testifying in some manner the high sense entertained by this House of the merits and services of the officers and men employed in the late exploring expedition. I advised him to insert the name of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, the commander; which he did. But Mallory, of Norfolk, objected to the resolution as untimely. He was for waiting to know what had been the results of the expedition. "Ay!" said McKeon, "Wilkes is not a Virginian." McKeon's resolution was not received.

John B. Weller, the rankest Five-Points Democrat in the House, volunteered to be the new Tyler financier, and first asked the unanimous consent of the House, and then moved a suspension of the rules, and called for the yeas and nays, to enable him to introduce a bill, to be carried through both Houses of Congress and signed by the President this day, to continue all the tariff laws, as they existed on the 1st of this month, until further legislation by Congress. Bowne moved a call of the House. Cushing called the yeas and nays on this motion, and they were taken—eighty-nine to eighty-three. The House was called; two hundred and two members answered to their names. Weller modified his bill, limiting it to the 3d of next March, instead of till further legislation by Congress, and adding to "existing laws" the words "in actual operation." James Cooper moved to lay Weller's motion to suspend the rules, on the table, but, at Everett's request, withdrew his motion. The vote by yeas and nays to suspend the rules was ninety-six to one hundred and six—not even a majority.

Roosevelt immediately moved again to suspend the rules to enable him to introduce a bill authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to prescribe regulations for the appraisement of imported goods, ad libitum, under the direction of the President. Yeas and nays on Roosevelt's motion to suspend the rules, ninety-one to one hundred and thirteen. Then the debate on the Little Tariff veto was resumed. Briggs, A. H. H. Stuart, Tillinghast, Proffit, Lane, of Indiana, and Weller, kept it up till five o'clock. Caruthers took the floor, committee rose, and House adjourned. We had a numerous party of evening visitors, as per margin.[1]

July 1st. Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Stuart, White, Granger, Everett, Shepperd, Caruthers; absent, Cushing and Meriwether. Two messages were referred to the committee: 1, on the 21st of June, declining to communicate copies of the Quintuple Treaty, Cass's protest, and the correspondence relating thereto; 2, 24th of June, with the proposal to establish a line of steam packets between Havre and New York, at the joint expense of the Governments of the United States and of France. The first only was taken up and discussed.

I stated my reason for offering the resolution-call, and my opinion that the answer of the message was not satisfactory. Difference of opinion with regard to the relative rights of the House, and of the Executive, appeared. After some discussion, Mr. Everett drew up and offered a resolution, against which, he said, it was not improbable that he should himself vote. The committee had not time to consider it, nor to take up the message relating to a line of steam packets between New York and Havre.

In the House, Fillmore, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported the Army Appropriation bill, with the Senate's amendments, and amendments thereto. Referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

Pendleton reported a bill for payment of the Florida militia.

Casey, of Illinois, moved a joint resolution to adjourn on

[1] The names of ten persons are given in the margin, ladies and gentlemen.

Monday, the 18th of this month. Objection made. Casey moves to suspend the rules. Call of the House; refused. Suspension refused, by yeas and nays—seventy-five to eighty.

The veto message to the Little Tariff bill was now taken up, the question being whether the bill shall pass notwithstanding the objections of the President. Everybody knows that it will not pass even the House. All debate upon it, therefore, with reference to the action of the House, is waste of time; but the reasons of the President, and the President himself, are canvassed with great bitterness. Caruthers had the floor this morning—a man of placid temper, courteous manners, and mild deportment, a steady, Southern, slave-holding Whig. He exposed the futility of the President's reasons for objecting to the bill, and got into the muddy stream of Tennesseean politics, which called up Gentry, Turney, Christopher W. Williams, and W. B. Campbell. Rhett, Summers, Barnard, and Joseph L. White followed, each for an hour. William Smith, of Virginia, the competitor and successor of the late ill-starred Linn Banks, took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned. The heat insupportable.

I was occupied amidst the din and bustle of the day in preparing a report for the select committee on the message, about the President's exposition of reasons for approving and signing the Apportionment bill. The committee are Adams, Pope, McKennan, Hunter, and Proffit.

2d. Met at nine this morning the select committee on the President's message informing the House of Representatives that he had caused to be deposited in the office of the Secretary of State an exposition of his reasons for giving his sanction to the Apportionment Act. Present, Adams, McKennan, Hunter, and Proffit. Mr. Pope did not attend. I presented a resolution which I proposed the Chairman of the committee should be directed to offer to the House, calling upon the Secretary of State to bring or transmit to the House the exposition of the reasons for his approving and signing the Apportionment Act, deposited in the office of the Secretary of State, accompanying the bill. There was little debate on the subject in committee. Proffit said he would prefer asking for a copy,

voted against the resolution, and asked if I should have any objection to a counter minority report.

I said, certainly not. I reserved my own unfinished report till the purport of Mr. Tyler's reasons shall have been ascertained.

In the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, and two or three other intrusions, I presented the resolution as directed by the committee, which was opposed first by Profit, who doubted the power of this House to send to a public Department for an original paper or document, and then by Cushing, who maintained that the House had no right to send for an original paper to a public Department, in its judicial capacity. Charles J. Ingersoll enquired what was the object of the committee in proposing to send for the paper.

I answered, that the House might know what the paper was, and what it contained.

He said he should then vote for the resolution, and, with some other remarks, did so. I called for the yeas and nays on Cushing's amendment,[1] which was carried—ninety-four to eighty; a close party vote of eighty Democrats, six of the guard, and eight Whig deserters. The resolution was then adopted without a division. Joseph L. White had in his speech yesterday charged Calvary Morris, one of the deserters from the Whig ranks to the guard, with frequent absence at the calls of yeas and nays during the session. Morris asked this day to make explanation—that he had been disabled by painful and dangerous cramps in his stomach; whereupon White said that if he had known that, he would not have made the charge; and he withdrew it.

The temporary Tariff Veto bill then came up. William Smith rattled his hour in honor of the compromise and the veto, and baited Granger into a catechism of question and answer, which Granger would have done better to treat with scornful silence. Payne, of Alabama, Watterson, Howard, Arnold, Wise, and Underwood, followed, each an hour, till near six o'clock, when Tillinghast moved to adjourn over to

[1] Mr. Cushing concluded his speech by moving an amendment in harmony with his argument, substituting a call for an authenticated copy of the President's reasons in lieu of the original paper.

Tuesday. The yeas and nays were called; I voted no; two or three others did the same. Tillinghast withdrew his motion, and the House adjourned. After dinner, I walked in the President's grounds, to hear the music of the Marine Corps Band. Met there Mr. Storer, the clergyman from Portland, returning from a visit to the State of Mississippi. Great perplexity for divine counsel.

3d. I attended public worship this morning in the hall of the House of Representatives. Mr. Tustin made the prayer and sang the hymn. A stranger young theologian preached from what he called the Letter of St. Paul to the Hebrews, x. 9: "Then said he, Lo, I come to do thy will, O God." Our preacher gave us a small dose of the usual galimatias about the atonement, and an abridged narrative of the crucifixion. There were certainly not one hundred auditors present. After the hall was cleared out, Mr. Leavitt and Mr. Gentry severally came to my seat to converse with me. Mr. Leavitt soon withdrew, and Gentry most earnestly entreated me to make a speech on the monthly tariff veto, and he urged me specially to make it to-morrow. I have had so many applications to the same effect that I can no longer resist, and must commit my cause to heaven, with a supplication that nothing may pass my lips injurious to the cause itself, or unworthy of me.

When I came home, I found Mr. Abbott Lawrence at my house. I enquired of him the state of the negotiation. He said, not so promising as he could wish. They had received a projet from Lord Ashburton respecting the Northeastern boundary; they had sent him, through the Secretary, in return, their projet. But the Commissioners from Maine were tenacious upon trifles —Lord Ashburton was tenacious upon trifles—much more so than he had appeared to be when he first came. He had recently received instructions from home, and had intimated that they tied him up far beyond those he had brought with him; and even that if they had prescribed them to him before he left home, he would not have accepted the mission. Clouds are thickening round us. Mr. Lawrence said he would see me again shortly. And he, too, urged me warmly to make a speech on the Tariff bill veto.

4th. Independence Day—sixty-six.

Mr. Mercer, a son of the Revolutionary officer killed at Princeton 1777, called on me this morning. He resides somewhere in Virginia, and told me that he had been introduced to my father, when Vice-President of the United States, at Philadelphia, in 1796. He had much conversation, and declared his approbation of my course in Congress. His visit detained me, so that on reaching the House I found Robert M. T. Hunter fretting out his hour speech in support of the Little Tariff veto and in personal justification of the President. When he finished, James Cooper, of Pennsylvania, took the floor. William Cost Johnson urged him to yield for a motion to adjourn. Cooper declined, and spoke an hour against the President and the veto. Romulus M. Saunders followed in a violent invective against the Whigs, which includes the whole compass of his conceptions. There is not a more cankered or venomous reptile in the country.

Thomas F. Marshall, of Kentucky, came next, with a splendid hour speech against the veto, enlarging into more general considerations, embracing the State debts and the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands.

I had risen to take the floor several times without success, and felt very awkward, and reluctant to take it while the impression of Marshall's speech was bearing so heavily upon the House. I took it, nevertheless, and began by a compliment to Marshall, which disarmed him of his resentment, so that immediately after I finished he came and offered me his hand. Of the hasty minutes which I had noted last evening, I followed the course about one-quarter part through, and was cut off from my argument just as I began to examine the veto message. The previous question was immediately afterwards moved, and, after much struggling, was carried. Cushing, whom I had somewhat annoyed by exposing his unconstitutional doctrines, was excessively anxious to reply. W. C. Johnson and Sprigg asked to be excused from voting, for the purpose of making short speeches, and then withdrew their motions. Sprigg reared and kicked up his hind heels like a rampant colt. The vote upon the bill was one hundred and

fourteen to ninety-seven—not two-thirds—and of course was lost. The report of the Secretary of State, with a copy of the President's reasons for signing the Apportionment bill, was presented by the Speaker to the House. I moved that it should be printed and referred to the select committee. But John Campbell was gravid with a speech, and an adjournment was moved and carried.

5th. Committee of Foreign Affairs at nine this morning. Adams, Everett, Meriwether, Cushing, Stuart, Granger, and Caruthers present; absent, Shepperd and White. The resolution offered last Friday by Everett was a call, without qualification, upon the President for copies of Cass's protest against the ratification by France of the Quintuple Treaty. But Everett himself, in offering it, doubted whether he would vote for it, and cannot settle in his own mind whether the intercourse between the House and the President, with regard to calls for papers, is matter of courtesy or of right.

Cushing pretended that the House had no more right to call upon the President than the President had to call upon the House.

I gave my opinions of the right of the House to make a peremptory call, without reserve; but the other members of the committee seemed afraid to speak their minds on the subject, which was postponed for further consideration, as was the other proposed project for a line of steam-packets between Havre and New York, at the joint expense of the Governments of the United States and of France.

At the House, after two or three reports of committees, and as many petitions, one of which was presented by Mr. Botts for a protective tariff from two thousand inhabitants of Richmond, Virginia, at which he declared his delight, the morning hour was given to Mr. Thomas W. Gilmer, for his personal explanation, under the merciless scourge of Hiland Hall. He spoke with lordly but blushing contempt of the paltry pittance of one per cent. commission upon whatever might be recovered upon the Virginia military land warrant claims, but his tone towards Hall was changed from overbearing insolence to humble courtesy.

The resolution for the appointment of a select investigating committee of the Virginia military bounty land warrants was then adopted with the proposed amendments, and Fillmore moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, upon the general Tariff bill. I pleaded for a decision on my motion to print and refer to the select committee the report from the Secretary of State, with the copy of the exposition of the President's reasons for signing the Apportionment bill; but John Campbell insisted on making a speech, and the House would not wait to hear him. They went into committee, McKennan in the chair. John P. Kennedy, Nathan Appleton, Romulus M. Saunders, Bidlack, McKeon, and Joseph R. Ingersoll, successively debated the bill till five. Triplett took the floor, and the House adjourned. Fillmore gave notice that he would to-morrow move two resolutions to limit the time of debate on this bill. Ingersoll's speech was beautiful, classical, eloquent; Kennedy's, ingenious and cogent; Appleton's, concise and curious.

6th. At the House, I came in just in time to demand the decision of the House upon my motion to print and refer to the select committee the report from the Secretary of State, with the President's exposition of his reasons for signing the Apportionment bill. Cushing started up, and said Mr. Campbell had declared his intention to speak on this question. Cushing's object was to stave off the question. I said if Campbell wished to speak he should be here. Cushing said he would then take the floor himself; which he did, though Campbell in the mean time came in. The question to print was first taken, and carried; and then Cushing spoke near an hour upon the legislative power of the President. He was followed by Campbell for nearly another hour. Botts then moved the previous question, in which I acquiesced, and the reference was carried without opposition.

Fillmore offered his resolution to take the Tariff bill out of committee next Monday; which was amended to Tuesday, and carried, by yeas and nays—ninety-eight to ninety-three; but he could not obtain a suspension of the rules to offer the resolution to cease general debate on the Tariff bill, and take up the details, on Friday next.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McKennan in the chair, on the Tariff bill. Triplett, Washington, Barnard, and Mark A. Cooper spoke each for his hour. John T. Mason took the floor, the committee rose for lack of a quorum, and the House adjourned after five.

7th. To the House, and found John Thompson Mason in superlatively dull discourse against the Tariff bill. Charles J. Ingersoll had been bustling with a resolution to prohibit any motion to adjourn before six o'clock P.M., every day till next Tuesday. It was ultimately laid over one day under the rule. William Cost Johnson followed, and employed his hour in unfolding his plan for assuming the debts of the States, or a large portion of them. He promised to bring out his plan more fully hereafter. Then Roger L. Gamble, of Georgia, replied to the furious assault of his colleague Mark A. Cooper. There was some sparring between them. Cooper denied that he had formed any coalition with the Tyler party. Gamble alluded to a toast given by Charles J. Ingersoll at a dinner given by the President to his partisans last Monday—"Veto, and ditto"—and to two other political cross-fire toasts, given at a Tyler and a Democratic party at Philadelphia, last Monday. Payne, of Alabama, pronounced an hour of invective against protection. Everett came next, with a strong protection speech, and in defence of himself for having signed the Whig manifesto at the close of the last session of Congress. He alluded also to the compromise of 1833, but very feebly, and with his ordinary timorous reserve. W. W. Irwin, one of the corporal's guard, made a Pittsburg iron-tariff speech of an hour, till four o'clock. Black, of Georgia, then got the floor, and moved the committee to rise; but the Chairman urged him to keep hold of time by the forelock, and make his speech, which he did now, all in petulant invective against the Georgia Whigs, and especially Gamble. Milton Brown, of Tennessee, finally closed the debate for the day, by a half-tariff hour speech. Gwin, of Mississippi, moved the committee to rise. Sundry bills from the Senate were then read and referred, among which was the appropriation for the remainder of the Massachusetts claim. Adjourned at a quarter-past six.

8th. Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Meriwether, Stuart, Cushing, Caruthers, Everett, Granger, White; absent, Shepperd. Message declining to send copies of the Quintuple Treaty and other documents. After some discussion, Everett withdrew his resolution of call, and I moved to postpone the further consideration of the subject indefinitely; agreed. Message with Bacourt's letter, proposing a joint establishment, by the Governments of the United States and of France, of a line of weekly steamers between Havre and New York. The impression against this measure seemed to be unanimous. Reason was piled upon reason against it, till Cushing moved that the Chairman be directed to prepare a report against the proposal. I said I must request that another member should be charged with that report, for I was for accepting the proposal. What a startling! What were my reasons? I gave them. Everett now was for giving a courteous answer, and calling on the Secretary of State for an estimate of the expense of such an establishment. Left for further consideration.

In the House, Fillmore had the Treasury Circular transferred from the Committee of Ways and Means to the Committee on the Judiciary. Stanly reported from the Committee of Military Affairs the Senate bill for reorganizing the army; referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Committee resumed the Tariff bill, McKennan in the chair. A. H. H. Stuart, Brewster, Calvary Morris, R. D. Davis, Stanly, Saunders, Weller, Mathiot, Gordon, Daniel, speaking when I left the House. Hudson and Burke discoursed till about nine o'clock, when the House adjourned.

9th. I met the select committee of five on the report of the Secretary of State with the President's exposition of reasons for signing the Apportionment bill. Present, Adams, McKennan, Pope, and Hunter; Proffit, absent. I read to the committee what I had prepared of a report; which took me half an hour; but it was unfinished, and we had no time to discuss it. We adjourned to next Thursday morning at nine.

In the House, William Cost Johnson asked leave to introduce, with a very long labyrinth of preamble, his plan for the

assumption of the State debts. Objection made. He moves to suspend the rules, and calls for the yeas and nays. Ayes, seven, one of which was mine; noes, one hundred and thirty-two. They don't imagine that it will ever become a serious question. Cave Johnson offered a long, grubbing resolution about the plundering appropriations for Cherokee Indians; which was adopted, and will come to nothing. Fillmore then moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union; done—McKennan in the chair. Tariff bill. Summers and William Smith, both Virginians, made counterpart hour speeches, for and against the tariff. John T. Stuart, and Reynolds, both of Illinois, did the same. Underwood, of Kentucky, came next, and then Wallace, of Indiana, a tariff speech of great power. While he was speaking, at the earnest and repeated entreaties of Lieutenant Wilkes, I went over to his house and inspected a great number of the drawings collected during the exploring expedition—portraits of men, women, and children, of the ocean, and Feejee Islands. Fishes, birds, plants, shells, and navigating charts are in great profusion, more than I had time to examine. I returned to the House, and found Patrick G. Goode discoursing on the tariff, after Beeson, who had succeeded Wallace. John Hastings, of Ohio, read an hour speech. Randall, of Maine, followed. It was past six P.M. I left the House, and came home. Almon H. Read closed the day's debate.

10th. I attended at the hall of the House of Representatives, where the services were performed by Mr. Maffitt, after an absence of five weeks. It was announced in the Globe last evening that he was to preach on "the moral aspects of the nineteenth century." His text was Revelation xix. 6: "And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth." The discourse was a rhapsodical declamation upon the moral improvements of the age—Sunday-schools, Bible, tract, missionary, and temperance societies; but no abolition—not even colonization. Not one word on the subject of slavery or emancipation. "Oh, no! we never mention her." Mr. Maffitt

gave notice that he should preach in the hall next Sunday and the Sunday after, when he would deliver a discourse on the mysterious fate of the Rev. George Cookman, heretofore a Chaplain of the House, who, in March, 1841, embarked at New York for Liverpool in the steamer President, which, with all on board, perished at sea. Before dinner, Mr. John C. Spencer, Secretary of War, called on me with a message from Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, who he said was on his bed, with rheumatism in his back. Mr. Webster sent for my perusal a translation of a note to him from Joaquin Velasquez de Leon, styling himself Chargé d'Affaires of the Mexican Republic, dated at New York, and enclosing to him two notes of 10th and 31st May last, from José Maria de Bocanegra, the Mexican Secretary of State, bitterly complaining of the toleration by the Government of the United States of the hostile interference of their citizens in the civil war between Mexico and Texas. Mr. Spencer says Velasquez styles himself Chargé d'Affaires, but has never presented himself as such, or with any credentials, at the Department of State. Mr. Webster wished for my advice, and thought it most expedient that there should be a call from the House for the documents. He would answer the two notes from Bocanegra to-morrow. I had a long conversation with Mr. Spencer, in which his opinion of the present prospects of the negotiation with Lord Ashburton were more favorable than I believe the facts will warrant. I passed the evening in writing, and musing over my own condition and that of my country, at the close of my seventy-fifth year.

11th. Dr. Mayo came to enquire if I had found his letter to me when he communicated to me his letter to President Jackson of December, 1830, and Jackson's to Fulton, then Secretary of Arkansas. I had not. The Doctor expects to obtain a new trial of his libel suit against Blair and Rives. He told me that David Fulton, father of the Senator, had deposited what purported to be the original letter from Jackson to Fulton, of December, 1830; but he suspected it to be a fabrication, ex post facto, and that Jackson never sent the letter to Fulton. This is absurd, and only shows the Doctor's suspicious nature.

I found the House in session. McKennan asked leave to present resolutions of a meeting at West Alexander, Washington County, Pennsylvania, against Tyler and the Little Tariff veto; but objection was made, suspension of the rules refused, and the resolutions not received. John W. Jones presented sundry anti-tariff resolutions, and attempted to speak; but they were laid on the table.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McKennan in the chair. Tariff or Revenue bill. Holmes, of South Carolina, Dixon H. Lewis, John Minor Botts, Charles J. Ingersoll, Robert M. T. Hunter, Ezra Dean, and Elisha H. Allen, hammered out each a one-hour speech, for and against protection.

At six o'clock P.M. I left Allen speaking, and came home. The House continued in session till half-past twelve at night, with less than forty members present—one drowsy orator succeeding to another, hour by hour, without intermission, and nobody listening to any one of them. We had a small evening party at home. I am snatching every possible moment, at home or in the House, for the draft of a report on the exposition of the President's reasons for signing the Apportionment bill.

12th. In the House, I offered a resolution in two clauses, calling on the President for the diplomatic correspondence with Mexico and with Texas. It was no sooner read than Pickens started up, and said he had no objection to the first branch of my resolution, but he had to the second; whereupon Fillmore insisted that if debate was to arise it must lie over. I then entreated that the question might be taken on the first branch of my resolution—the call for correspondence with Mexico. Landaff W. Andrews now came in, savage as a famished wolf, called for the reading of my resolution, and objected to the reception; and the Speaker sustained him in his objection. I called for a suspension of the rules, and demanded the yeas and nays; which were ordered. Thereupon Andrews withdrew his objection. The question was taken on the first branch of my resolution, which was adopted with scarcely a negative voice. Pickens still objected to the second branch of my resolution. I extorted from the Speaker a

promise that it should be taken up at my call to-morrow morning, and then submitted to its lying over.

Fillmore then moved a resolution postponing the Territorial business, assigned for to-morrow and the two succeeding days, till the first three days of next week, and postponing the final question on the Tariff bill till Friday next at twelve o'clock, allowing from this day at noon till then for amendments of detail, each mover of an amendment to have fifteen minutes, and any one member ten minutes to oppose it. This resolution he finally carried through by two successive suspensions of the rules. Jacob Thompson then made a foolish hour speech, and George B. Cary, of Southampton, Virginia, a remnant of twenty minutes till noon, when down came the Chairman's hammer. And then commenced the amendments of detail. All the chicanery of the House now came into play. The committee rose after four o'clock. Underwood sprung upon the House by surprise a resolution postponing the retrenchment of the hostler, John Lee,[1] till the close of the present session. It passed by acclamation, in spite of the pettish remonstrances of Cave Johnson. He raved remonstrance till the House, on the motion of Briggs, cut him short by adjourning.

13th. After a call at the office of the National Intelligencer to ask for their paper of 2d December last, which I did not obtain, I barely reached the hall of the House while Mr. Maffitt was saying grace over the coming deliberations of the day. The instant French, the Sub-Clerk, had closed the reading of yesterday's journal, I started up, with the shrill cry, "Mr. Speaker!" But Cave Johnson, who had stationed himself in the lane right opposite the chair, caught his eye and got the floor. He moved a reconsideration of the vote of mercy to the stable-keeper, John Lee, snatched from the good nature of the House last evening by Underwood. Cave launched out into lamentations and indignations, with a direct

[1] "Resolved, That so much of the resolution heretofore adopted by the House, as relates to the public stables and the supply of horses and mail carts, shall go into operation from and after the close of the present session of Congress, so far as it operates on John Lee."

thrust at Briggs, who was last evening in the Speaker's chair, for putting the question to spare John Lee for this session, without heeding his (Cave's) fiery remonstrances. Cave's motion for reconsideration was first met with the objection that he, having voted in the minority and against the resolution, could not move a reconsideration; but he persisted in scolding till Bowne, a brother radical, who had voted, as he said, for the resolution, took pity on Cave and moved the reconsideration. And now Cave flourished away upon retrenchment and reform, the uselessness of the services of the stable-keeper, John Lee, and the fortune he was heaping up by hiring out to other people his six horses. Cave demanded the yeas and nays upon the reconsideration, and it was carried—seventy-eight to seventy; then upon the resolution itself; which was again carried—seventy-eight to seventy-five; and so this mountain of patriotic parsimony was delivered of its mouse. An hour and a half had been consumed in this trifling, and my second shriek of "Mr. Speaker!" brought him to. I called up the second branch of my resolution offered yesterday—the call for the correspondence with Texas. Pickens feebly objected; said he would not press his objection, but did press it, and called piteously on any member of the Committee of Foreign Affairs to help him. Cushing started up, and moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union. I said, "If my colleague wishes to suppress information, 'tis time to call at least for the yeas and nays." There were barely enough rose to obtain them. I said it was for the sole purpose of taking the question upon my resolution. Cushing called me to order, and said, "No debate;" and he carried his motion—ninety-eight to seventy-four—half the House not knowing what was the alternative. McKennan took the chair. I was boiling with indignation, but suppressed my feelings and submitted in silence. They skirmished upon the Tariff bill till four o'clock, when the committee rose. I instantly called up my resolution again, and moved the previous question. Pickens was gone; Cushing was silent. Thompson, of Mississippi, moved to adjourn; refused. Caruthers questioned whether the resolution was in order. The Speaker said it was. Snyder called for the yeas

and nays; refused; and my resolution was adopted with an almost universal shout. The House immediately afterwards adjourned.

14th. Meeting at nine o'clock of the select committee on the President's message of 25th June, announcing to the House that he had caused to be deposited in the office of the Secretary of State, accompanying the Apportionment Act, an exposition of his reasons for giving his sanction to it. Present, Adams, McKennan, Pope; absent, Hunter and Proffit. I read the remainder of my report, about half of which I had read at the last meeting. It concludes with a resolution protesting against this act of the President, and against its ever being adduced as a precedent hereafter. McKennan concurred entirely with the report. Pope agreed to its being presented to the House, but not to the report itself. He had voted against the districting section in the bill, and had voted to lay on the table the motion to refer the message to a select committee. Wise had, as usual, browbeaten the Speaker by the base insinuation that he would appoint a committee of the bitterest enemies of the President, and they would report violent measures, the result of which would be to raise the President to the very pinnacle of popularity, and to prostrate the Whig party forever. The Speaker, as usual, cowered under Wise's scourge, and appointed three out of five members of the committee Tylerites. Proffit, at the last meeting, asked me if I should have any objection to a counter-report; to which I had answered, none in the world.

The House went, immediately after the reading of the journal, into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, McKennan in the chair, on the details of the Tariff bill. The day was consumed in numberless motions of amendment, a very large portion of them mere chicanery to waste time and throw obstacles in the way of the passage of the bill. About four o'clock this tiresome foolery was superseded by the rising of the committee. Beeson then offered an amendment to strike out the twenty-fifth section—the land distribution—and insert three sections as a substitute—to levy stamp duties on notes and bank bills. Objection was made. Beeson moved a

suspension of the rules; the objection was withdrawn, and Beeson's amendment was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

Arnold gave notice that he would next Monday ask leave to introduce a bill to reduce the pay and mileage of the members of Congress.

The Speaker presented a message from the President, with the correspondence with Mexico, in answer to the first branch of my resolution adopted by the House last Monday. It was read, ordered to be printed, and referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. The Speaker presented also certain resolutions of the Whig, Clay, anti-Tyler committee at New York. Objection was made to their being received, and the House fell into confusion; in which a motion to adjourn was carried.

15th. In the House, I attempted to get the floor, to present my report on the Apportionment bill message, but failed. Cushing, on account of pressure of the Tariff bill, on which the debate was to cease at twelve o'clock, moved to go immediately into committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Moore, of Louisiana, at the same time asked leave to offer two new sections to the Tariff bill, and to have them printed—alleging that they were intended to suppress abominable frauds in the collection of duties on sugar, and allowance of drawbacks on exported molasses; but no debate was allowed. Moore moved to suspend the rules; but it was refused. Part of Moore's object was to provide that upon cotton imported from Texas and exported, only one per cent. of the duty should be retained of that drawback, and that drawback should be allowed on all foreign goods exported by land to Texas and Mexico. I could not obtain the question upon the reception of my report. The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and debated further the details of the Tariff bill till half-past six o'clock, when, at Botts's motion, the committee rose, and reported the bill. Bronson, of Maine, immediately moved the previous question; whereupon the House immediately adjourned.

Mr. Aaron Leggett, one of the large claimants on Mexico, came to me this morning with a memorial to Congress stating

the facts of his claim, and invoking the interposition of Congress to obtain payment of it. He said he wished to have some conversation with me concerning it. I appointed eight o'clock this evening to see him at my house; and just as we rose from dinner, he came. He remained with me upwards of an hour, arguing with me on the duty of Congress either to compel Mexico to pay him, or to assume and pay the debt for this nation.

I told him that I should be willing to give all proper consideration to his memorial, and to agree to any practical measure, consistent with justice, for his relief. But he complained almost as much, and with as much justice, of this Government as of Mexico. The Convention for the settlement of the claims was so wretchedly contrived, that its real object must have been to multiply and aggravate the causes of war between the two countries.

16th. Meeting again of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger, Caruthers, Stuart; absent, Meriwether, Shepperd, and White. Cushing concluded the reading of his report, which was discussed and slightly amended. It was accepted, and Mr. Cushing was authorized to present it to the House. It substantially sustains Mr. Van Ness's charges upon all the items disallowed by the Fifth Auditor, Pleasanton, and the Secretary of State, Forsyth. They amount to upwards of twenty-five thousand dollars. In a mission of seven years, Van Ness has raked and scraped at every possible table for crumbs of contingency, and actually increased his salary from nine to more than twelve thousand dollars a year. Yet he is able to adduce precedent for every charge, and, like a tavern-keeper who upon any objection made to his bill trumps up new charges, he now claims of right salary from the day of his appointment, though notified at the time of his appointment that it would begin from the time of his departure from home on his mission. Cushing favors all the charges, because he keeps a steady eye upon a mission abroad himself. Everett favors them all, because Van Ness is a Vermonter, with whom he sees it is for his interest to be well. Granger favors most of them, from the liberality of his spirit,

but he screws out two or three of the most rapacious items; and the Southern economists would gladly apply the retrenching sickle, but wish to cast the responsibility of the operation upon me. Cushing's report studiously evades the expression of an opinion against any one of the charges, but refers back to the Executive and the Judicial Courts those that are glaringly illegal and iniquitous. The result will be the admission of them all.

In the House, I presented the report from the select committee on the Apportionment bill message, and moved that it be laid on the table, and printed, and that the resolution at the close of the report should be read. Cushing enquired whether I proposed to consider the resolution now. I said, no, not until the report should be printed. Bowne objected to its being received. I moved a suspension of the rules. Barnard moved that the committees should be called for reports; whereupon Bowne withdrew his objection to the reception of mine. It was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

The previous question had been moved last evening, on the engrossment of the Tariff bill; there was now a second to the motion; but the question, Shall the main question be *now* put, was taken by yeas and nays, and decided in the negative—ninety-seven to one hundred and two. Christopher H. Williams moved a reconsideration, which was carried—one hundred and ten to one hundred and four. The day was then consumed in taking yeas and nays on swarms of amendments, till near six o'clock. Then the bill passed to engrossment—one hundred and sixteen to one hundred and eleven—and passed—one hundred and sixteen to one hundred and twelve. Reconsideration moved, and refused.

17th. After the Tariff bill had passed, last evening, John Campbell, of South Carolina, moved an amendment to its title, to read, "A bill for the protection of manufactures and for other purposes." Mark A. Cooper moved as an amendment to this amendment, "A bill to raise revenue for the support of the Government, and for the protection of manufactures." Cooper's amendment was immediately rejected, but Campbell insisted upon having the question upon his taken by yeas

and nays, and it was also rejected, by a large majority. Many of the Whigs inclined to adopt his amendment, and, as it would have been very acceptable to the North, as an avowed assertion by Congress of the protective principle, I could not well account for Campbell's pertinacity in urging it, till Gamble told me that President Tyler had in the most energetic manner (said) that if the word protection was used in the title to the bill[1] . After this flurry was over, a poor Pennsylvania mute, huc usque, came down from his seat in the outer circumference, took his stand upon the area fronting the Speaker's chair, and gave notice that at the next session of Congress he would introduce a bill for levying a tax upon paper money made in the similitude of metallic coin.

18th. Mr. Leggett brought this morning the manuscript report of the American Commissioners under the Convention with Mexico upon his claim, which he requested me to present with his memorial and to move that it be printed. Leggett's original claim was one in which he had no right to claim the interposition of the Government of the United States. But this mode of intermeddling with the claims of our citizens upon foreign Governments has become quite familiar to us, and we have not yet very closely examined how far it will warrant foreign nations in reciprocating the practice with us. Leggett's claim and many others upon Mexico were taken up by Jackson's Administration, to make an offset to the enormous outrages of Jackson himself, and his Administration, against Mexico; and when, in 1837, Jackson's project of kindling a war with Mexico was baffled and defeated, he left his successor, Van Buren, to trump up a Convention which he well knew would terminate in no adjustment or satisfaction of the claims, but leaving them aggravated causes of war. And now these claims are saddled upon us, so that we cannot cast them off.

At the meeting of the House, I attempted to offer Leggett's memorial, with the report of the American Commissioners, but could not get a hearing, even to ask for the printing of these papers. Arnold attempted to introduce the bill of which he had given notice, to reduce twenty-five per cent. the pay and

[1] Sentence left incomplete.

mileage of the members of Congress and the salaries of all the Executive officers; but he was not permitted to introduce it, and he opposed the introduction of anything else. Barnard struggled to report two bills from the Judiciary Committee, but could not succeed. This and the two succeeding days had been assigned for the consideration of bills relating to the Territories.

Pope, Chairman of the Committee on the Territories, moved to go into committee of the whole on the State of the Union. The Speaker called John W. Jones to the chair; he declined taking it, and the Speaker called Thomas W. Gilmer in his place. Stokely, from the Committee of Military Affairs, called up a bill from the Senate for the armed occupation of Florida; amended by the Military Committee. Everett and W. Cost Johnson started an opposition to the bill, which consumed the day in debate. I took myself a part in this debate, without success. Sundry amendments were moved, some of them carried, others rejected. The committee rose twice, for want of a quorum, and there was one call of the House. The amendment reported by the Military Committee, amended by the committee of the whole, was reported to the House; the engrossment of the bill was carried by yeas and nays—eighty to fifty—and the passage of the bill—eighty-two to fifty. Pickens moved a reconsideration, and I moved to adjourn; which was carried, shortly before six.

19th. Mr. Leggett was again here this morning, enquiring about his memorial, with the report of the American Commissioners upon his claim. I told him I had attempted in vain yesterday morning to present them to the House; that I would repeat the attempt this morning, but, as objection from a single member is potent to prevent its reception, it would probably not be possible to obtain its admission. Leggett was hot for war, till I told him the first "coup de canon" would spunge his claim. Now he is for an armed negotiation to purchase a slice of California, and especially the harbor of San Francisco, and paying for it with the claims.

Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Stuart, Cushing, Caruthers, White; absent, Everett,

Granger, Meriwether, and Shepperd. Cushing brought up a claim of Somerville Pinkney, Administrator of Charles Williams, upon the French Indemnity Claim Convention. Cushing said it was not a valid claim, and it was referred to Cushing for a report against it.

A petition for a large appropriation to support an expedition to occupy and settle the Territory of Oregon. Agreed to pass it over.

The message, with the application of the French Minister, Bacourt, by order of his Government, for a joint establishment of a line of mail steamers between Havre and New York, was taken up, and I was directed to prepare a resolution, to be presented to the House, calling on the President to cause estimates, and a report to Congress at the commencement of the next session to be made, of the expense of forming and maintaining such an establishment.

In the House, I made another very urgent attempt to present Mr. Leggett's memorial and the report on his claim, but could not obtain a hearing. Casey asked leave to offer a joint resolution for adjourning Congress on Monday, the 1st of August, at two P.M. Fillmore objected. Casey moved a suspension of the rules, but this was not in order—the special order devoting these three days to the business of the Territories overriding all other orders. Casey then moved to postpone the special order of the day—a call of the House, and the yeas and nays. The call of the House produced one hundred and fifty-seven names in answer. Upon the yeas and nays, there were eighty-one to eighty-four, and the House refused the permission to introduce the resolution.

20th. I found the House in session, and John Edwards, of Missouri, was speaking against a bill to fix the boundary between the Territory of Iowa and the State of Missouri. He spoke through his hour, and, when arrested by the Chairman's hammer, struggled some time for another hour, by moving an amendment, thereby changing the question. Wise once succeeded at the special summer session last year in this trick, and spoke two hours at one time. But the Chairman now decided that the amendment involved the same question upon which

the member had spoken, and that he therefore could not continue his speech. He closed, therefore, by presenting an amendment substitute for the bill, against which Augustus C. Dodge, the delegate from Iowa, made his hour speech. A succession of Territorial bills followed, till a bill came for establishing a new collection district in Florida, which after debate, a motion being made to reject it, the numskull Chairman, Gilmer, put the question whether the bill should be reported, and pronounced it carried in the negative. Accordingly, he did not report the bill with the rest.

I made a question of order of it, and the Speaker and Gilmer brazened it out that the committee were not bound to report the bill. I advised the Speaker to look into Hatsell. Gilmer said there was nothing about it in Hatsell.

21st. In the House, an hour was devoted to the presentation of reports from committees. Arnold attempted again to introduce his bill for reducing the pay and mileage of members of Congress and the salaries of Executive officers. I succeeded at last in introducing Mr. Leggett's memorial, with the report of the American Commissioners on his case. Cave Johnson at first objected to the printing, but afterwards, at the request of Houston, of Alabama, withdrew his objection, and the order for printing was adopted. Pickens, of South Carolina, had moved on Tuesday to reconsider the vote passing the bill for the armed occupation of Florida. He then suffered yesterday to pass over without calling it up, and this morning he said he would withdraw it. Briggs questioned his right to withdraw.

The Speaker decided he had, although the time had passed within which any other member could make the motion. Briggs appealed from the decision, but it was sustained by the House—ninety-two to seventy-nine—upon a motion of C. J. Ingersoll to lay the appeal on the table.

The resolution of the Judiciary Committee declaring it inexpedient to extend the Bankrupt Act to corporations then came up, and Roosevelt concluded a speech he had begun before, on an amendment reversing the opinion of the Judiciary Committee. Barnard moved to lay the whole subject on the table; lost—seventy-three to one hundred and three. The previous

question was then called, and, while pending, Arnold renewed the motion to lay all upon the table, and it was carried.

Sundry other reports were made, till the House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon the Navy Appropriation bill, returned from the Senate with amendments. Mr. Burnell and myself were both denied the floor, for having made hour speeches when the bill was up in committee. Cave Johnson now made an hour speech against concurring with the first amendment of the Senate, increasing the appropriation for pay. Wise made a brutal attack upon me for having exposed the enormous disproportion of Virginian navy officers. Caruthers took the floor at half-past five, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

22d. In the House, Botts presented a petition from Wetumpka, in the State of Alabama, praying Congress to pass a resolution requesting the acting President to resign, and, if he refuses, to impeach him. Laid on the table.

Mark A. Cooper offered a resolution to enquire of the Secretary of the Treasury, who is dangerously ill with a fever, why the Bank Return report has not been made, and when it may be expected. Not received.

The report from the Judiciary, that it is not expedient to extend the Bankrupt law so as to embrace corporations, was in order for debate; but Cave Johnson moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union—which was finally done, Romulus M. Saunders in the chair, and the amendments of the Senate to the Navy Appropriation bill (came up). Caruthers made an hour speech against concurring with the Senate's first amendment, which was to increase the item of pay about half a million, which the House had curtailed from the estimates of the Secretary.

Cushing made two or three captious issues with Caruthers while he was speaking, but always to his own discomfiture.

There was but a half-hour left for debate, which was occupied by Thomas Butler King, who, as heretofore, was for the Senate's amendment and the largest expenditures.

At the hour of noon down came the Chairman's hammer, and the voting began. The first of the Senate's amendments,

the increased item, was non-concurred by tellers—sixty-six to eighty-nine; the second, after sundry abortive attempts to amend it (among which one by me to make the officers from each State in the navy proportionate to the number of seamen from the same State), was also non-concurred; ayes, by tellers, only forty. Of the other amendments, some were adopted and others rejected, till the bill was reported to the House. W. W. Irwin moved instantly the previous question. I asked him to withdraw his motion, to give me an opportunity to offer some remarks on a personal attack made on me yesterday. He refused to withdraw, but only thirty-nine votes seconded him. I took the floor, and answered Wise according to his folly. Burnell then spoke his hour upon his own plan. Wise then replied to me in his own way, closing with a threat of murdering me in my seat. Charles Brown scored him for his insolence to him. It was near six when the House adjourned.

23d. Mr. McLochlan, who was here last evening, is one of the commissioners from the province of New Brunswick in attendance upon the negotiation just now concluded, between the Secretary of State and Lord Ashburton. Mr. McLochlan is an inhabitant of Fredericton, and seemed either not aware that the negotiation was concluded, or desirous of appearing so, for he said he was told he must stay here till September, and jokingly alluded to a recent rumor that the St. John's River would be the boundary, which would bring him and Fredericton into the State of Maine.

Mr. Acosta is Chargé d'Affaires from the republic of New Grenada, and one of the most intelligent, well-informed, and social men that I have seen from the South American republics.

I attended at nine this morning, in the Senate's committee-room of Military Affairs, a meeting of the delegations from Massachusetts and Maine in both Houses. There were fifteen present, but Mr. Choate was absent, and all the Democratic members from Maine. The bill appropriating money for payment of the adjusted balance of the Massachusetts claim has passed the Senate, but labors in the Military Committee of the House. Mr. Bates called this meeting, and a committee of three members from Massachusetts in the House, Briggs, Hud-

son, and Parmenter, was chosen to attend the meeting of the Military Committee of the House and explain to their satisfaction the merits of the claim. I was asked to act as Chairman of this committee, but requested to be excused, having been absent from this country throughout the last war with Great Britain, when all these claims originated, and having paid no special attention to them in the long series of years during which they have been in process of adjustment.

In the House, Arnold fidgeted about the introduction of his bill to reduce the pay of members of Congress and the salaries of Executive officers, but could not obtain a suspension of the rules to introduce it. Cowen pleaded earnestly, but in vain, for the devotion of the day to private bills. The question was taken upon the report of the Judiciary Committee, that it is not expedient to pass a corporation Bankrupt law. The resolution was negatived, by yeas and nays—fifty-four to one hundred and thirteen—and yet the House was so entangled with forms and rules of order that the banks slipped through their fingers and escaped. Barnard, from the Judiciary Committee, presented a report and a bill, and, after a sharp altercation with Saunders, a member of the same committee, the question of printing the report was carried, by yeas and nays. Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Summers in the chair, on the amendment of the Senate to the Army Appropriation bill. Explosion. Committee rose, and the House adjourned, soon after two.

24th. The explosion noticed yesterday sounded its first crack by Gwin, of Mississippi, who announced that he had voted for all the reductions of the army, when the bill was before the House, but that he might perhaps change his vote now, as there were rumors of a treaty agreed upon between the Secretary of State and Lord Ashburton, by which a large portion of the territory of the State of Maine was to be ceded to Great Britain; and he had rather a thousand times have a war.

Black, of Georgia, swallowed back all the bile he had disgorged upon the army, and said he had found upon enquiry that the second regiment of dragoons was the finest regiment in the army, and its Colonel (Twiggs, a Georgian) one of the

most gallant officers that live. He too is now for increasing instead of reducing the army. Gilmer said he should still vote for reducing the army, though if the treaty should be such as Gwin had represented it, he should be as much as Gwin himself against it. This burning patriotism for Maine is kindled at the stake prepared for Madison and Washington. The Creole slave-traders, and the repudiating debtors of Mississippi, are the guardians of the sanctity of the Territory of Maine. This debate is a premonitory symptom of acrid matter to come. Landaff W. Andrews, with his March-hare look, moved the committee to rise, to stifle debate. The vote to rise was thirty-eight to forty-four, a majority against rising, but compelled to rise and report no quorum; whereupon, just after two, the House adjourned. There was another long snarl upon a message from the President, with a counter-report to that of Poindexter, on the New York Custom House, by Stewart, another of the Commissioners. There was a heavy tug against the order to print this report, but it was finally carried, by yeas and nays—eighty-five to sixty-six.

The preceding page is rather a continuation of yesterday's diary, than properly belonging to this day. I went alone this morning to the hall of the House of Representatives, and heard Mr. Maffitt preach from Matthew xx. 6—last clause of the verse: "Why stand ye here all the day idle?" Congress have got into so bad repute for neglect of business that there appeared to be a sarcasm couched under the surface of the text. I suppose it was suggested by the prevailing prejudice against Congress; but there was no allusion to it, direct or indirect, in the sermon. That was specially, and very earnestly, addressed to the members of Congress; and they were in bold and unmeasured terms charged with standing here all the day idle. I could not fail to observe the address with which he preserved through the whole discourse the tone of severe reproach and stern rebuke, and yet steered clear of every sore spot of his auditory. His charge of idleness was not of negligence to the affairs of this world, but, on the contrary, of excessive devotion to it. He said the members of Congress had no heart. They were all head—all intellect—absorbed and

imbedded in worldly concerns; but religion must come from the heart; and they had no heart. Then he rang the changes for upwards of an hour upon the various ways of standing all the day idle; talked very boastfully about himself, gloried in the blessing he had received from an old woman, who told him that he had reclaimed a vicious son of hers from wickedness to virtue. He gave notice that he should preach the funeral sermon of Mr. Cookman, next Sunday.

After dinner there was a transient thunder-shower, which passed off in time for me to attend at St. John's Church. Mr. Hawley read the evening prayer for the ninth Sunday after Trinity, and preached from Psalm cxlix. 2: "Let Israel rejoice in him that made him: let the children of Zion be joyful in their king." Auditory very small. On my return homeward, I stopped at Lord Ashburton's, and spent an hour with him. I understood from him that all the sharp points of his negotiation are adjusted and settled, though the treaty is not yet drawn up and executed in form. The Oregon Territory and Columbia River question remains open. I conjecture the same of the "Creole" case, for upon that he said he had been able to yield little or nothing, and that he supposed Mr. Calhoun would not like it; but he could not help it. This remark opened the dungeon.

25th. Upon the reading of the journal of the House this morning, Arnold observed that no notice was taken in it of the motion he had made on Saturday to suspend the rules for the introduction of his bill, which had been objected to by R. M. Saunders, for the reduction of the pay and mileage of the members of Congress. The Speaker said the usage was not to enter on the journal unsuccessful motions to suspend the rules, unless the yeas and nays are taken. Arnold said he had asked the yeas and nays, but the House had refused them. The Speaker said the motion would be entered, but not the name of the objector, which is never done.

Fillmore called up the resolution he had offered on Saturday, to take the questions on the amendments of the Senate to the Army Appropriation bill, in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, this day, at one o'clock, and moved the

previous question; which was carried, by yeas and nays, called for by Pickens—ninety-three to fifty-seven. He then moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union; carried, Summers in the chair. The first amendment of the Senate struck out the proviso in the bill as it went from the House, reducing the army to the standard of the Act of 1821, and withholding pay from the second regiment of dragoons after the 30th of next September, and substituted another and much scantier reduction. The question was on concurring with the amendment of the Senate, recommended by the Chairman of the Committees of Ways and Means, Fillmore, and of Military Affairs. Cave Johnson rather feebly objected to concurring in the amendments, and called the House to stand by its own principle of reduction.

Ward, of New York, urged an immediate decision, and said he had received many letters complaining of the delay to pass the Army Appropriation bill. James Graham, of North Carolina, made a short speech against concurring with the Senate, and Caruthers did the same. I assumed the same ground, and made a speech of about three-quarters of an hour, urging to the extent of my power that the House would not concur with the amendment of the Senate. Horace Everett followed me, and said when the bill had been first before the House he had voted against the reduction of the army, because during the pendency of an important negotiation he did not think it proper to change the military position of the country; but since what he had heard from Gilmer on Saturday, he believed the President was about to veto the treaty on the point of conclusion, and he should now vote against concurring with the Senate.

An explanation was then made by Gilmer, disclaiming any particular intercourse with the President, but avowing the hope that the treaty would not be ratified. The vote in the committee, to concur, was forty-nine to one hundred; all the other amendments of the Senate, except two, were non-concurred. In the House, the vote on the main amendment, by yeas and nays, was fifty-five to one hundred and seventeen. Arnold then moved again, and obtained, a suspension of the rules, and

introduced his bill. A curious scene ensued, till the adjournment.

26th. Anniversary of my marriage—1797, forty-fifth. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Stuart, Granger, White, Caruthers, Everett; absent, Meriwether and Shepperd. I presented a report and resolution relating to the President's message, Document No. 151—the proposal to establish by joint agency of the Governments of France and the United States a weekly line of steamers between Havre and New York. I was authorized to present them to the House.

In the House, Arnold called up his bill to reduce the compensation of members of Congress and the salaries of public officers. The question left last evening was upon the rejection of the bill. First came a call of the House, which produced, first, one hundred and forty-three, and, secondly, one hundred and sixty-eight, names, in answer; then eleven excuses; and then further proceedings dispensed with. Arnold moved to refer the bill to a committee. Everett opposed this, and moved the previous question. L. W. Andrews moved to lay the bill on the table; which was refused, and the previous question rejected—sixty-seven to seventy-one. Arnold renewed his motion to refer the bill to a select committee, and that he should not be a member of the committee. Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, moved a string of amendments, as instructions to the committee, which he supported with a very eloquent hour speech. Botts, Dixon H. Lewis, Fillmore, Shields, Gwin, followed; and Gwin made a coarse and groundless attack on Fillmore, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, for delay to bring forward his Tariff bill at an earlier period of the session. Bowne made a modest and moderate speech, a rarity for him, against the bill. Gilmer, after an explanation with Everett, moved to take up *his* Retrenchment bill instead of Arnold's. Debate continued. Previous question, on engrossment, carried—eighty-nine to seventy-one. Bill engrossed—ninety-two to seventy-eight. Adjourned.

27th. In the House, the morning hour was allotted to the reception of reports from committees, among which I presented

the report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs on the message, Document No. 151—the proposal from the French Government to establish a weekly line of steamers between Havre and New York, concluding with a resolution requesting the President to cause to be prepared by the Secretaries of State and the Navy, and reported to the House at the commencement of the next session of Congress, a plan of such a line of steamers at the joint expense and co-operation of the Governments of the United States and France, with estimates of the expense which would be necessary for carrying the plan into execution. There was some difficulty in obtaining the reception of the report, and afterwards to the consideration of the resolution; but the objections were finally withdrawn, and the resolution adopted. Cushing and Stuart made also the reports with which they were charged from the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

Arnold next called up his bill to curtail the pay and mileage of members of Congress. W. B. Campbell had moved to reconsider the vote of engrossment, and now made a rambling hour speech in favor of the bill, and then withdrew his motion to reconsider. After some confusion, Shields renewed the motion to reconsider, and to commit the bill with instructions, forming his budget of retrenchment. Proffit moved the previous question, and, while that was pending, Shields claimed the question on his motion to reconsider. Fillmore objected to this as not in order. The Speaker decided it was in order, from which Fillmore appealed, and, after long discussion, his decision was sustained by the House—one hundred and forty-three to thirty-four. A motion to lay the reconsideration on the table; rejected; reconsideration finally carried—eighty-six to eighty-two. Then more discussion, and half a dozen sets of instructions moved by different members, each utterly averse to the motions of all the others. At last the motion to refer the bill to a select committee of nine members. It was half-past three o'clock. I entreated them to take up a number of bills from the Senate, which had come in this morning, and Fillmore proposed to take up the Navy Appropriation bill, returned with disagreements and a request for a conference; but Botts moved to adjourn, and it was carried.

28th. Found Mr. Tustin closing his morning benediction upon the House. Zadok Casey, of Illinois, moved a suspension of the rules to let in a resolution to close the session on Monday, the 15th of August, and called for the yeas and nays. The members on all sides are getting impatient to go home—as Bowne said, to their firesides. The vote for suspension was eighty-one to sixty-nine, a majority, but not two-thirds. The Navy Appropriation bill returned from the Senate, insisting on two of their amendments disagreed to by the House, was called up by Fillmore, the Senate requesting a conference on the disagreeing votes. Fillmore moved to insist on the House's former votes, and to agree to the conference. Cave Johnson moved to adhere to the House's votes and refuse the conference. A captious question arose which of the questions, to insist or to adhere, should be first put. I warmly adjured Cave Johnson to withdraw his motion to adhere, and, in courtesy to the Senate, to agree to the conference; but he declined. The vote to insist and agree to the conference was, however, carried.

Joseph R. Ingersoll then moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon the General Contingency Appropriation bill; carried, Atherton in the chair. The committee immediately fell again foul of the retrenchment monsoon. Cave Johnson cavilled at every new clerkship to be legalized for any one of the Departments, till I advised him to beware of using the retrenchment knife too freely, as he and his friends would themselves have the appointments to make in the next Congress. He resisted also the appropriation of salaries for the Consul at London and for a Dragoman at Constantinople. I explained the reason for the allowance to the Consul, and testified to the merit of the Consul, Aspinwall. Cave Johnson's motion to strike out this item was voted down without a division. The bill was worried through the committee with sundry amendments, and reported to the House about five o'clock, when the House adjourned.

29th. In the House, sundry reports of committees were received, and among them one by James Cooper, Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, on the answer from the Secretary of War, refusing the papers called for by a resolution of

the House, and disclosing gross and fraudulent abuses in transactions with the Cherokee Indians. The report and resolutions assert in forcible terms the right of the House to demand the papers; and the final resolution contains a call upon the President for them. Upon the reading of the report the House began to heave convulsively with the agonies of the Tylerizing corporal's guard, and their sympathizing Democracy—manifested chiefly by Proffit and by Gwin, of Mississippi. Their objects were—1, to refuse reception both to the report and the resolutions; 2, to prevent their being printed; and, 3, to smother all debate upon them. So they objected to the reception, but were overruled by the Speaker. They resisted the printing, upon the pretence that they wanted to debate the resolutions, by which they hoped it would be laid over to another day, and then never come up again. To meet and overreach these tactics, Cooper was obliged to make two motions, and demand the previous question upon both at once—1, to print, and, 2, to adopt the resolutions. Proffit sputtered and snapped like parched corn; denied the right of Cooper to offer two motions at once and call the previous question upon both. The Speaker decided that he had. Proffit moved to lay the whole subject on the table; yeas and nays, fifty-eight to one hundred and one; previous question carried—seventy-two to fifty-nine; yeas and nays on the printing, ninety-two to sixty-seven. Proffit then instantly moved the orders of the day. Cooper then offered to withdraw the previous question upon the motion to adopt the resolutions; but this he had no right to do. But the hour had expired, and Cowen, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, insisted upon the orders of the day —private business. After some struggle, this was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred to fifty-eight.

30th. In the House, the select committee, to which had been referred Arnold's bill for reducing the pay and mileage of members of Congress and the salaries of Executive officers, reported back his bill, with slight modifications, with a minority report, and a substitute bill, confined in its operation to the members of Congress. And now there was a good deal of trouble about what to do with the bill, some being intensely

desirous, as they have been from the hour of its introduction, per saltum, without rhyme or reason, and others panting for a chance of chattering upon a retrenchment scheme of their own, and each one inflexibly opposed to every other than his own. Upwards of fifty members have taken part in this debate, and not one has discussed it with one spark of the reason and justice appropriate to the subject. The bills and counter-report were finally ordered to be printed, and referred to the committee of the whole House on the state of the Union. Sundry private bills were debated, and two or three fair pension claims were defeated by the cankered niggardliness of Mallory, of Norfolk. The committee on conference upon the disagreeing votes between the two Houses on the Navy Appropriation bill —Wise, McKay, and William B. Campbell—reported a compromise by which the Senate yielded almost the whole that was in contest, and especially all that I had resisted. Wise had refused to agree to it in joint committee, but made the report, and moved its acceptance by the House. Cave Johnson recalcitrated, but without effect. Both Houses accepted the report, and the bill is passed.

Joseph R. Ingersoll had brought up the Contingent Appropriation bill at the third reading. Gentry began a long, prepared set speech against the bill, but soon moved to adjourn. Ingersoll called the yeas and nays; but Arnold was in the chair, and declared the House adjourned.

August 1st. Maher is the gardener of the Capitol and the public grounds, extending to those round the President's house, where Ousely is only the kitchen gardener. Maher came to me this morning, complaining that Mr. Stanly had been deceived by misrepresentations and thus induced to charge him with abusive expenditures on the public grounds. Stanly had attacked him, he said, two years ago, but Governor Lincoln, then Chairman of the Committee on the Public Buildings, had defended him. Mr. Stanly now renewed the attack, and he had lost his friend Governor Lincoln. He explained to me some of the facts alluded to one day last week by Stanly, who yields too much to his indignation at the plunder of the public—the incurable vice of all the departments of Govern-

ments—and for some petty, perhaps inconsiderate overcharges, said there was no part of the public expenses more corruptly managed than those of the public gardener. I believe this is unjust; but I despair of convincing Stanly.

Mr. Babbitt came to me this morning, urging me to call up the French Spoliation bill; and he brought me a second list of members marked, showing a majority of the House in favor of taking up and of passing the bill.

At the House, Bowne, of New York, made a ridiculous attempt to turn Arnold's over-hasty adjournment of the House into a grave misdemeanor, to be entered formally upon the journal. It was a mere inadvertence, of no importance whatever, inasmuch as the House was in a state of dissolution, not fifty members within the bar. Bowne raised a squall, but it soon passed away, and his motion to amend the journal was laid on the table, by yeas and nays—ninety-seven to fifty-seven.

2d. In the House, Nathaniel G. Pendleton, of Ohio, asked leave to present a report from a select committee on an iron steamer constructed on one of the Northern lakes. Proffit objected to its reception, charging the Whigs with bringing indictment after indictment against the President, poisoning the public mind, but without ever calling any of them up. I immediately moved to take up my report and resolution upon the message announcing the deposit at the Department of State of the President's reasons for signing the Apportionment bill. R. M. Saunders objected. I moved a suspension of the rules. Proffit, Cushing, and W. W. Irwin voted for it, but the whole Democracy voted against it; the yeas and nays were ninety-three to sixty-six—not two-thirds. So James Cooper's report and resolutions upon the Secretary of War's refusal to send papers called for by a resolution of the House were taken up for the morning hour. Gwin, of Mississippi, and Cushing, made speeches against the reported resolutions. Gwin is a repudiator. Cushing has no moral principle, and would have been a Prodicus or a Gorgias, at Athens, in the days of Socrates. His speech this morning was interrupted by the expiration of the morning hour.

3d. At the House, after half an hour of miscellaneous business of routine, they went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Fessenden in the chair, and took up the bill for reorganizing the army. Cave Johnson had moved as an amendment a substitute for the whole bill. Samson Mason had moved, as an amendment to Cave Johnson's amendment, that the second regiment of dragoons shall on the 1st day of October next be disbanded. This was the ordeal question of reduction of the army. When first presented to the House, it had been lost by a majority of two; then, upon reconsideration, carried by a majority of one. It was now carried in committee, by tellers—sixty-eight to fifty-five; whereupon Proffit moved that the committee rise, and report the bill, with a recommendation that it be indefinitely postponed. Stanly said he must be joking. Proffit replied that he never was more serious in his life, for the army was to be sacrificed and destroyed, and he had foreseen its fate from the day that I had declared my purpose to reduce it. Proffit abandoned his motion, little imagining what a dose of wormwood he was administering to Captain Tyler and his Democratic allies by imputing the reduction of the army to me. Cave Johnson's substitute for the whole bill was then taken up. I moved the reduction of the rank and file in all the regiments from fifty to forty-two, and, instead of disbanding the eighth regiment of infantry and authorizing the President to form a regiment of mounted riflemen, to continue the regiment of infantry and have no mounted riflemen. At three o'clock the voting began upon the amendments. The bill was made to conform entirely to my views so far as related to the reduction of the army, and was reported to the House. Cave Johnson moved to lay it on the table; rejected—sixty-five to one hundred and sixteen. Stanly moved the previous question, which was ordered, and the House then adjourned. Cushing made a very animated speech against the reduction of the army. Meriwether and Gilmer have disappeared. Wise, when his name was called, said he did not know how to vote.

4th. At the House, Mr. Appleton gave me to read a letter to him from the ci-devant Judge Charles Jackson, in awful

trepidation at the prospect of the Whigs persevering in the refusal to pass a Tariff bill without the section securing to the States the proceeds of the sales of the public lands. The Judge's property is chiefly in the Lowell factories, and he cares not a pepper-corn for the interest of the whole people in the public lands. I returned the letter to Mr. Appleton, and told him that I dissented from every line of Judge Jackson's letter.

Appleton, somewhat excited, said that the Judge's opinion was the unanimous opinion of all our friends at home.

I said I was sorry for it, but could not help it. But I see the Whigs will finally flinch for the sake of a tariff, and will surrender forever the public lands. I had yesterday a conversation with Speaker White, in his chamber, on this subject, in consequence of a letter which he had delivered to me from H. Clay, who earnestly urges me to take the lead in the approaching crisis. And Richard W. Thompson came to me this day and urged me to attend a meeting of a committee of twenty-one members, one from each Whig State, to consider what is to be done when the veto of the Tariff will come. My opinion is that Congress ought immediately to adjourn; but, as I know they will not, I see no necessity for making myself at once a useless and a voluntary victim. I declined attending the meeting. The resolutions upon the answer of the Secretary of War, declining to send papers called for by the House, were debated by Cushing, Everett, and James Cooper, till the expiration of the morning hour. Then the final action of the House on the bill for reorganizing the army came on. The vote for disbanding the second regiment of dragoons, by yeas and nays, was one hundred to seventy; on the passage of the bill, one hundred and twenty-two to fifty-eight.

5th. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Caruthers, Everett, Stuart, White; absent, Meriwether, Granger, and Shepperd. Mr. Cushing's bill for requiring annual reports from the Secretary of State, of changes in the commercial regulations of foreign countries, introduced by him into the House yesterday and referred to the committee, was discussed and amended, and he was authorized to report it to the House. He was not ready with a report on the petitions

of Dr. Baldwin and Aaron Leggett; in addition to which I proposed to take into consideration the claim of the ex-Marquis Attelis de Santangelo. The whole subject of our political relations with Mexico, with Texas, and with Great Britain was brought into discussion, and particularly the debts of the States and Territories, and the liabilities in which they may involve the nation.

We continued the debate until the House had been half an hour in session. I found James Cooper speaking on the resolution reported by him from the Committee of Indian Affairs, of the right of the House to call for papers, and the answer of the Secretary of War, declining to send the papers called for. He finished his hour, and Mr. Everett followed, offering an amendment as a substitute for the three resolutions; merely that the reasons of the Secretary of War for declining to send the papers are not satisfactory. He made a very short speech in support of his motion. When he closed, the question was about to be taken. Just before, I had been called out of my seat by Judge Swymmer, from St. John's, New Brunswick, who reminded me that he had visited me when I was in that city in September, 1840. I introduced him on the floor of the House, and was talking with him, when Cooper came and urged me to say a few words upon the question which was about to be taken. I returned to my seat, and spoke twenty-seven minutes, till the expiration of the morning hour.

6th. At the House, after a full half-hour of obtrusions, as usual, of business out of order and out of time, the Speaker announced James Cooper's resolutions, from the Committee of Indian Affairs, with Everett's proposed amendment, as the business of the morning, and that I had the floor. I enquired what time I had left to complete my hour; he said, thirty-three minutes. I am confident it was at least ten minutes more; but I lost my time by not marking it myself. I said I was very desirous of abridging the time in which I should be compelled to trespass on the indulgence of the House, and there was a contingency which might happen before Monday morning and which would render a very large portion of what otherwise I must say altogether unnecessary. I meant the signing by the

President of the Tariff bill. I said I would therefore move the postponement till Monday morning of Cooper's resolutions, and to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the French Spoliation Claim bill. The Speaker said it was not in order to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up any particular bill. I then moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union generally; but not more than fifty members rose in the affirmative. So I was obliged to proceed in a defence of Congress against a violent charge by Cushing, that they must fulfil their destiny, which is to prostrate the Government of the United States, to be resuscitated and restored by our successors.

I had not proceeded three minutes before Bowne raised a point of order that no answer can be made in the House to what has been said in committee of the whole. The Speaker said that was the rule, but that Cushing had been very liberally indulged in the remarks upon which I was animadverting; and Cushing himself reminded Bowne that I could put it as a supposed case, and it was of no use to attempt to arrest me, and he was ready to meet whatever I have to say. I proceeded, but had barely reached the threshold of my subject when the fragment of my hour expired, and Proffit was upon the floor while I was in the midst of a sentence. He replied to me, till the expiration of the morning hour, and has another half-hour in reserve for Monday.

8th. Resolution day. Ohio called. Samson Mason offered a joint resolution to adjourn the two Houses on Monday, the 22d of this month, at two o'clock P.M.; which passed by acclamation. A resolution passed by yeas and nays—eighty-nine to seventy-four—to furnish the new members with books, which have been furnished to the old members.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, on the Contested Election bill, Fessenden in the chair. I had taken some part in the discussion upon the first and second sections of the bill, but the debate immediately ran into party bitterness, and I resolved to withdraw myself from it altogether. A multitude of amendments were proposed and rejected; others, pro-

posed by Halsted, Chairman of the Committee of Elections, were adopted, among which was one forbidding the Clerk of the House to enter on the list of persons presenting themselves as members of Congress any one elected otherwise than as a Representative of a single district. Fessenden left the chair to speak to an amendment, and Briggs took his place. When the bill was reported to the House, John Campbell moved its recommitment, with instructions to report two small amendments; but Halsted moved and insisted upon the previous question; which was carried. The single district section was carried, by yeas and nays—ninety-nine to seventy-nine; and the bill—one hundred to eighty-one.

The report of the committee of conference on the Army Organization bill was then taken up, and, after some debate, it was found that it must be referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union; which was done, with an order to print the bill with the report of the committee of conference, and the Army Appropriation bill, with the report of the committee of conference upon that. Sundry Territorial bills followed, and then a resolution, offered by Sherlock J. Andrews, to rescind the vote of censure upon Giddings. The other Andrews objected, and the House adjourned.

9th. W. Cost Johnson presented a second memorial from Pennsylvania, praying for an appropriation of two hundred millions of acres of the public lands to be distributed among the States to enable them to pay their debts. He moved to refer the memorial to a select committee, and asked the yeas and nays. Morgan moved its reference to the Committee of Ways and Means. Charles Brown bristled up with scorn and indignation at the idea that Pennsylvania should receive any aid from the General Government, and chuckled in bragging that there was no member from Pennsylvania who would present and advocate such a memorial. Toland asked him if he meant to say that he would not present such a memorial if it should be sent to him. Brown dodged the question by enquiring if Toland would present and advocate such a memorial. Toland said he would present but not support it, the time not being yet come.

Cooper's resolutions on the Secretary of War's report, declining to communicate papers called for by the House, employed the morning hour. Proffit finished his hour of scolding at me, and Cushing fired his broadside also at me. Fillmore then moved the previous question, and said there was a message from the President. The morning hour was expired. The message was a veto of the Tariff bill sent to the President last Saturday. Fillmore moved that the message should be entered on the journal and printed, and the consideration be postponed till to-morrow, and moved the previous question; all which was carried.

10th. I had been solicited and urged from various quarters of the House to take the lead of the measures to be adopted by the House on the reception of the veto message; and yesterday, while the House was in committee of the whole, the Speaker came to my seat and asked me to call in at his chamber for a few minutes after the adjournment of the House; which I did. He then again urged me to address the House on the reconsideration of the Tariff bill. I said I would make a speech on the message, and conclude with a motion to refer the message to a select committee. I prepared last evening and this morning minutes for an hour speech, which I could have expanded at pleasure into a speech of two, three, or even six or seven hours. It is the first experiment of this kind that I have made since the establishment of the hour rule, and, although now but partially successful, I am convinced it might by a younger man be improved into a powerful and most effective practice.

At the House, I consumed the hour till the meeting in collecting the documents and my thoughts for the speech. After the preliminary intrusive matter, the morning hour was well occupied with an excellent speech on Cooper's resolution, from the Chairman of the Committee of Indian Affairs, against the Secretary of War's suppression of evidence. He then moved the previous question, as he had promised Fillmore to do. Weller, the same man who moved the previous question to cut off Giddings from his right of self-defence, remonstrated against the previous question. After a party speech, Caru-

thers voted against his own motion; but it was carried. The question was ordered, but not taken, the hour having expired.

The Speaker then announced the veto message. I took the floor, and compressed within one hour brief and cursory remarks on all the topics which I had minuted for discussion. It was not skilfully done, nor with any of the bursts of eloquence, which I have not the power to command. Its effect was far more visible upon my adversaries than upon my friends. I closed with a motion to refer the message to a select committee of thirteen members, with instructions to report thereon.

Foster, of Georgia, started a question of order, denying the power of the House to refer to a committee what the Constitution required them to reconsider. And now commenced a scene of bullying and chicanery by Wise, Cushing, Proffit, and W. Cost Johnson, which lasted three hours, and, after laying on the table three appeals from the Speaker's decision, my motion to refer was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and eight to eighty-four—and the bill was laid on the table by ninety-seven to seventy-three.

11th. At the House, the journal was amended on my motion. It had stated that my motion yesterday was to refer to the select committee the *objections* of the President to the Tariff bill. My motion was to refer the *message*. The committee announced were Adams, Jeremiah Morrow, Francis Granger, Truman Smith, John Minor Botts, James K. Pearce, Kenneth Rayner, James Cooper, Thomas J. Campbell, Thomas W. Gilmer, W. W. Irwin, James J. Roosevelt, and Charles J. Ingersoll.

A Senate bill for altering the Judicial Circuits was then taken up, and, after some debate, was passed, by yeas and nays—one hundred and fifteen to sixty-eight. I voted against it, because it will prevent a more general and entire revisal and new organization of all the Circuits.

Proffit moved to take up the vetoed Tariff bill—ayes eighty-two, noes one hundred and four. I moved the reference of the President's message on the Tariff, and called the yeas and nays; they were ninety-five to eighty-nine—a majority, but not two-thirds.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, George

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W. Hopkins in the chair, on the Fortification Appropriation bill, which was warmly debated for about three hours, when Graham, of North Carolina, moved to report the bill, with a recommendation that it be rejected. Cushing took the opportunity to make a cut-and-thrust speech at me, to which I made a very short reply. Bowne made a furious speech against the Whigs, which Fillmore blew up by an instantaneous answer. I personally notified all the members of the select committee on the veto message to meet at nine to-morrow morning in the chamber of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. W. W. Irwin, with a strut of the mock-heroic, asked to be excused from serving on the select veto committee, because the appointment of a committee was unconstitutional, the Constitution requiring that the House should reconsider the bill. A full hour was spent upon this balderdash, till Irwin was excused.

12th. Meeting of the select committee on the veto message on the Tariff law. Present, Adams, Morrow, Granger, Truman Smith, Botts, Pearce, Rayner, James Cooper, Gilmer, C. J. Ingersoll, and Roosevelt—eleven members; absent, Thomas J. Campbell, from indisposition; he had told me yesterday that he should probably not be able to come. I proposed to the committee to authorize me to prepare a report, and to indulge me till next Monday morning to have it ready to be submitted to the committee. There was a desultory conversation till the time of the meeting of the House, upon the views and topics proper to be presented in the report.

Ingersoll, Gilmer, and Roosevelt, voters against the reference to the committee, were readily for allowing me till Monday to prepare the report, but said they would need a similar indulgence of reasonable time afterwards, to prepare a minority report; which was agreed to. They manifested some curiosity to know to what conclusion my report would come; but I said I had not sufficiently meditated that. Negatively, I would assure them, I should not close with articles of impeachment. Roosevelt enquired if the report could not conclude with a recommendation to pass another Tariff bill. I said it certainly could, but if that was the purpose of the committee I

should request them to charge some other member with the preparation of the report.

In the House, W. Cost Johnson gave notice of his intention to ask leave to-morrow to introduce a sort of salmagundi bill, for revenue, for disposal of the public lands, and for constituting a funded stock of two hundred millions of dollars to pay the debts of the States. W. Cost Johnson sees that the Whigs have abandoned him, and he is preparing himself to pass over, with his uniform and baggage, to the corporal's guard. Tom Marshall, Sprigg, and John Pope are moving in the same direction.

13th. Arnold bustled and blustered about his bill No. 548, to reduce the pay and mileage of members of Congress; but the principal incident of the day was the adoption of the three resolutions reported by James Cooper from the Committee of Indian Affairs, amended by Caruthers, on the report of the Secretary of War declining to send papers called for by resolution of the House. The amendment moved by Caruthers to the first resolution was adopted; then Mr. Everett's substitute for the three resolutions was rejected—sixty-four to one hundred and four.

Then the first resolution, merely declaratory of the right of the House to call on the President or heads of Departments, was carried—one hundred and forty to eight, Cushing, Irwin, and Proffit being three of the eight. Wise asked to be excused from voting because he could not vote against it as a general declaration, and could not vote for it without an implication of censure where he did not think it was deserved; and he was excused.

The second resolution, that the call was for papers relating to business before the House, and should have been communicated, was carried—ninety-four to sixty-four. For this Everett voted, but on the first and third resolutions did not vote.

The third was a request to the President to cause the papers to be communicated to the House. Carried—eighty-three to sixty. Numerous dodges on both sides.

It is hardly conceivable how many members start back at

any approach to gall the kibe of the Executive Chief. There was a flare-up between Arnold and Fessenden, upon mutual charges of each against the other of being about to join the guard; retracted.

14th. I attended public worship this morning at the hall of the House of Representatives, where Mr. Maffitt preached from Luke x. 42: "But one thing is needful: and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her." The one thing needful is religion. The House, as is usual when Mr. Maffitt preaches, was well filled. After closing his discourse, he sung, by himself, a short Methodist hymn. He gave notice that he should preach a charity sermon on this afternoon at Georgetown, observing that it had been by mistake announced for last Sunday; that he should preach again in that hall, probably for the last time.

Mr. Maffitt's manner of preaching is exceedingly attractive, and yet very much censured. It is eminently theatrical; and although the theatre ought to be the best school of public speaking, there is a universal prejudice against the application of the very best manner of speaking on the stage, to the pulpit. The impression always is that the preacher is acting a part. I believe this to be a prejudice, but am not free from it myself. Mr. Maffitt's manner of preaching approaches the perfection of theatrical declamation. He preaches the love of God, obedience to His will, the love of our neighbors, benevolence, toleration, charity, all the Christian virtues and graces; he preaches the atonement in the blood of Jesus, the divinity of Christ, the trinity in unity of the Godhead, and the fall and redemption of man. He always commands intense interest and eloquent silence. He adverts too frequently, and with too much complacency, to himself. Upon the whole, I always hear him—often with pleasure, sometimes, I hope, with profit, never to the detriment of moral principle or of religious faith.

15th. I closed this morning the report on the Tariff Veto bill, just in time to meet the select committee at nine o'clock. Every member was present—J. Q. Adams, Jeremiah Morrow, Francis Granger, Truman Smith, John M. Botts, James H. Pearce, Kenneth Rayner, James Cooper, Thomas Jefferson Campbell,

Thomas W. Gilmer, James J. Roosevelt, Charles Jared Ingersoll, and Henry S. Lane. I read the report, and, with two or three slight amendments, I was authorized by nine members of the committee to present it to the House.

Mr. Gilmer said he wished to present a counter-report, which he had partly written, but wished a short time to finish. It was agreed that he should present his report at the same time when I should present mine. I proposed to conclude with a resolution to amend the Constitution of the United States so as to make a majority of the whole number of members of each house (instead of two-thirds, necessary to annul the veto). Several members came to me and urged me to present the report this day; but Gilmer came and said he was very unwell, and obliged to go home and undergo an operation, and asked me not to present my report till to-morrow morning—which I promised.

I went to Underwood for a set of proposed amendments which he offered some months ago, among which this curb to the veto was one. He sent for his budget to his lodgings at Georgetown, and, when it came, I took from it the curtail of the veto, and drew up from it an article of amendment in a few words.

Botts had proposed in committee another resolution—that the House have no confidence in Tyler or his Administration; but I objected to it, as offering a second and unnecessary issue; and he withdrew it.

16th. This was the morning for the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Only four members attended—Adams, Caruthers, White, Granger; no quorum; Botts and Rayner, of the select committee on the veto message, attended, supposing, by mistake, that a meeting of that committee this morning had been appointed at the adjournment yesterday. Botts said that he and other members of the majority of the committee wished to sign their names to my report, and he asked me to give him my original draft of the report, signed by me—which I did; and he, James Cooper, Kenneth Rayner, Thomas J. Campbell, Truman Smith, Francis Granger, Henry S. Lane, Jeremiah Morrow, and James S. Pearce, signed the report and my origi-

nal draft, which Botts said he would keep as the second Declaration of Independence.

At the meeting of the House, after some intrusive business, occupying about half an hour, I read in my seat the report signed by ten members of the committee, concluding with a resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution. The reading took me just three-quarters of an hour.

Gilmer had announced his report, and Charles J. Ingersoll now announced that he had a minority report, signed by himself and Roosevelt. Not a word of this was said in committee; but I made no objection to its reception. Gilmer read his report, which took an hour, and Ingersoll read his in forty minutes. A great part of Gilmer's was a dissertation to prove the unconstitutionality of the appointment of the committee, and of the proceedings of the committee, on the subject. Ingersoll's was a lampoon upon me in revenge for my blast upon his Five-Points speech. After the reading, I moved that the three reports, together with the bill and veto message, be printed, and made the special order of the day for to-morrow at twelve o'clock.

Wise then immediately moved to take up the vetoed bill, which the House, by yeas and nays—ninety-nine to one hundred and four—refused.

Stanly then presented the report of the second committee of conference on the Army Organization bill, which was accepted by the House in four several questions, contrary to the usage and rule, that the report of a committee of conference cannot be amended.

W. Cost Johnson offered his bill, with a title half a yard long, and asked the yeas and nays on its being referred to a select committee and printed; they were eight to one hundred and twenty-two. I was one of the minority.

17th. At the meeting of the House, this morning, McKennan moved the suspension of the rules, to introduce a resolution that it is expedient to pass another Revenue bill, the same with the one just vetoed, with the exception of the twenty-seventh section, containing the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, and exempting tea and coffee from all duty.

After much agitation, the question was taken, by yeas and nays —one hundred and nine to eighty-four—not two-thirds; but the numerical majority was in favor of the measure, and it was clear by the result that it will be carried.

Next, Charles Brown moved a suspension of the rules, to offer a resolution to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up House bill No. 547, to supply a temporary defect or failure in the laws relating to the collection of duties on imports. The yeas and nays on the question of suspending the rules were one hundred and twenty-three to eighty. Fillmore moved a reconsideration of the vote refusing to reconsider; and this was carried, by a majority less than two-thirds—one hundred and thirty to seventy-two; and then the motion to suspend the rules was again lost, by an increased majority—one hundred and twenty-two to seventy-two.

Noon had come, and I called for the special orders of the day. W. Cost Johnson claimed, as a privileged right, the motion to take up the vetoed Tariff bill, and the Speaker recognized his right. I moved to lay his motion on the table; but the House refused. They took up the bill. Cost Johnson made his speech, and urged his creation of two hundred millions of United States four per cent. stocks, to pay the debts of the States, and to be redeemed by the proceeds of the sales of the public lands. When he finished, Arnold moved the previous question on the passage of the bill; and it was taken, as prescribed by the Constitution—ninety-two to eighty-seven—the same majority by which it originally passed in the House.

My report and resolution then came up; the report was adopted, by yeas and nays—one hundred to eighty; the resolution lost, by ninety-nine to ninety.

Marshall moved a reconsideration of the last vote, made an hour speech against it, and withdrew his motion. Wise moved a reconsideration, spoke half an hour of invective against me, and then, at Cushing's motion, the House adjourned.

It was at the request of Botts that I modified my motion to include the adoption of the report. I told Botts the majority of the House would not vote to adopt the report. He said they would; and they did.

18th. It was half-past ten when I reached the House, and I found Wise on the floor, finishing his hour invective not only upon me, but the majority of the select committee and the House. He was followed by Kenneth Rayner, a spirit as fiery as his own, who began by making Wise disclaim all personal application in his bullying defiances, and lashed him with scorpions for an hour. Garret Davis, Arnold, Colquitt, continued the debate till Granger moved the previous question; upon which I said that the House would see what claim of justice I had for reply to personal assaults from various quarters, but I would, rather than occupy the time of the House, forbear to assert the claim, and acquiesce in the previous question. It was carried, and the reconsideration rejected—twelve to one hundred and forty.

Fillmore then moved that the committees be called for reports. I asked that the report on the quasi veto Apportionment bill message should be taken up. Cushing objected. Fillmore, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a resolution instructing that committee to report speedily another Revenue bill, the same as the one just vetoed, excepting the twenty-seventh section, and making tea and coffee duty free. This is the same project presented yesterday by Mr. McKennan. Botts moved to lay it on the table; lost—seventy-five to one hundred and three.

Fillmore moved a call of the House. Carried. Two hundred members answered.

Holmes objected that the Committee of Ways and Means were not authorized to offer this resolution; but the Speaker overruled the objection.

Hays asked a division of the question, first including only the title of the bill; but the Speaker pronounced the whole resolution indivisible. Hays appealed, but, on the motion of McKennan, the appeal was laid on the table. The vote was at last taken, and the motion was lost—eighty-five to one hundred and thirteen. Many of the members on both sides withheld their votes at the call of their names; but Wise called for compulsory process upon them, and they were all compelled to vote—Gilmer and Fillmore being of the number; both of

whom, and Wise, voted "no." W. W. Irwin immediately started up, and moved a suspension of the rules, to introduce another Tariff bill; but Botts moved to adjourn; carried—one hundred and ten to seventy-nine.

I went and dined with John P. Kennedy, at his lodgings. Appleton, Granger, Saltonstall, and Hudson there. Whig caucusing.

19th. I was roused twice in the night by severe cramp in the legs, and feel that my body and mind are rapidly falling into decay. The position that I have taken is arduous enough to crush any man in the vigor of youth; but at seventy-five, with failing senses and blunted instruments, surrounded by remorseless enemies and false and scary and treacherous friends, how can it end but in my ruin? But I must meet the shock.

In the House, the day was consumed in a struggle of divided parties for a tariff, and surrender of the lands. John Campbell began with a project of a twenty per cent. tariff, with tea and coffee, and an excise on gold and silver. Scouted.

Then Everett moved a suspension of the rules, with a desperate plunge for the aid of the Democracy; lost—eighty-one to one hundred and five. Charles J. Ingersoll finally worried the House into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Joseph R. Ingersoll in the chair, and the committee took up Barnard's bill from the Judiciary Committee, to supply a defect in the revenue laws. C. J. Ingersoll moved his bill as an entire substitute. W. Cost Johnson moved his bill as an entire substitute. Barnard moved an amendment, to save penalties. I made a short hour speech against the amendment, and against the bill, contending that no Tariff bill ought to pass at this time. Proffit and Cushing replied to me, wormwood and gall. Granger chastised Cushing, and skirmished with Wise. Thompson, of Indiana, lashed Cushing. McKennan blew hot and cold, and T. F. Marshall took formal leave of the Whig party, from which he said he had been yesterday expelled.

22d. The House had been half an hour in session when I reached the hall. Arnold was rowing against wind and tide to introduce a resolution to take his Retrenchment bill, No. 548, out of committee of the whole on the state of the Union,

this day or to-morrow, but the vote was seventy-four to ninety-five against suspending the rules. But this day the surrender of the public lands to dilapidation and waste was consummated. Irretrievably gone. Cowen, of Ohio, first offered a resolution to take Barnard's bill, to supply a temporary defect or failure of the revenue, out of committee this day at twelve o'clock; carried; and then, at Cowen's motion also, the House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Joseph R. Ingersoll in the chair.

The first step was to dispose of the Patch bill; but Roosevelt, Fillmore, Holmes, Everett, and Gordon kept up a running fire of debate till noon, when the guillotine fell on Gordon's eloquence. Barnard implored a few minutes to defend and explain his own bill, but was inexorably refused. Barnard offered a succession of amendments, which were adopted without discussion. The question was taken upon substituting Charles J. Ingersoll's bill, and lost. The same fate befell W. Cost Johnson's substitute; but McKennan's substitute, the vetoed bill, with the land distribution section struck out, and making tea and coffee duty free, was carried, after numerous proposals of amendments, all rejected. McKennan's amendment was at last adopted by tellers —ninety-nine to sixty-seven. The new bill was reported to the House, the previous question called, and carried. Rhett moved to lay the bill on the table, but withdrew the motion. On the question of the engrossment of the bill, the Speaker announced the yeas and nays—one hundred to one hundred and one—and the bill rejected. Thompson, of Indiana, moved a reconsideration and the previous question. But it was discovered that in counting one affirmative vote had been omitted. The Speaker announced a tie—one hundred and one to one hundred and one —and gave his casting vote against the bill. But the motion to reconsider was carried—one hundred and six to ninety-eight.

Then, on the second question to engross, the vote was one hundred and three to one hundred and two; announced carried. Long debate whether the Speaker could vote to make a tie. He did vote, but Landaff W. Andrews and Stanly, who had withheld their votes, voted "ay," and the vote stood one hundred and five to one hundred and two, and the deed was done.

The long agony was over, and the lands are lost forever. The title was changed, and a motion made to style the bill "An Act for revenue and the protection of manufactures," but lost. The corporal's guard divided equally upon the bill—Cushing, Irwin, and, with extreme reluctance, Proffit, voting for, and Gilmer, Mallory, and Wise against it.

24th. I called this morning at the Department of State, and delivered to Mr. Webster a letter from Dr. Flügel, the Consul of the United States at Leipsic. I congratulated him on the successful issue of his negotiation with Lord Ashburton, and he said he was glad to have got it off his shoulders.

I spoke to him of the resolution of the House calling for copies of Lewis Cass's protest against the ratification by France of the Quintuple Treaty, of the treaty itself, and of all the correspondence relating to it. The President had declined communicating those papers then, alleging that no official copy of the Quintuple Treaty had been received, and that the other papers requested could not consistently with the public interest be communicated then; but he hoped they might be soon. This message had been referred by the House to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, which, with my consent, had acquiesced in the postponement of the communication of the papers; that, on my mentioning the subject again a few days since in committee, Mr. Cushing had enquired if I should be willing to see the Secretary of State on the subject; to which I had readily agreed.

He said there might be inconvenience in the publication before the treaty shall come back from England ratified, and then the whole correspondence would be published, and in the mean time, if I desired it, they should be communicated to me in confidence. He said they had a copy of the Quintuple Treaty, though not communicated to them officially. He spoke with great severity of the conduct both of Cass and of Stevenson upon this subject, and said they thought to make great political headway upon a popular gale.

26th. I have neither time nor space for commenting upon, or even for stating, many of the interesting transactions of every day. The fate of my resolution offered yesterday, to stop hereafter the pay of absentee members of the House of

Representatives, would furnish matter for four pages of this diary; but it must pass.

I called at the National Intelligencer office with a special request to Mr. Gales that the proceedings of both Houses upon the resolution might be correctly reported. The report in the Intelligencer of this morning of the proceedings of the House is grossly incorrect, and there is no report at all of the proceedings in the Senate.

In the House, the approaching close of the session was manifested by the transaction of much helter-skelter business. Gwin, of Mississippi, continued to tease the House with the most perverse perseverance to pass the bill to give a gratuity of about four thousand dollars, under color of refunding to General Jackson a fine levied upon him by Judge Hall at New Orleans in 1815. This is a crumb of political swindling, got up by Davezac, a profligate French Creole of New Orleans, now commorant in the city of New York and disgracing it as one of its representatives in the State Legislature.

Gwin has been harassing the House day after day to get up this bill, reported by three out of nine members of the Judiciary Committee, with a characteristic Five-Points report by Charles J. Ingersoll. Gwin failed to get up the bill this day, but it will be carried in the next Congress, if not in the next session.

Two notable bills were driven through the House this day: one to repeal the proviso to the sixth section of the Act of 4th September, 1841, suspending the distribution of the proceeds of the land sales among the States. The bill finally passed, by yeas and nays—one hundred and four to eighty-six. The bill for remedial justice was also crowded, by a rallying of the Whigs, first through the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Joseph R. Ingersoll in the chair, and finally through the House, by yeas and nays—ninety-two to eighty-four.

29th. The Tariff bill came back from the Senate with numerous amendments, adopted, after an obstinately contested debate, last Saturday evening—twenty-four to twenty-three. The progress of the tariff controversy exhibits a signal exem-

plification of what I have long and often remarked as a law of political gravitation, as uniform in its operation as that other gravitation which governs the system of the universe. It is that of all great systems of policy maintained by antagonist parties and subject to deliberative decision, the opposite practical measures are modified into mutual approximation, till they come to a balance turned by a single vote. So has it pre-eminently been in this revenue bill. In the House of Representatives it was twice pronounced rejected, and finally carried by a majority of two votes in two hundred and eight. In the Senate it has been finally carried by a majority of one vote. When it came back, before the question of concurring with the Senate's amendments was taken, Clifford moved to lay the bill on the table. But so little disposed to this was the same House where a majority of two had been so recently extorted by a convulsion, that upon the motion now to lay the bill and amendments on the table the yeas and nays were but sixty-five to one hundred and twenty. The amendments of the Senate were all adopted in a lump, without a division of the House, and a reconsideration, moved by McKennan, to be rejected, was rejected in the same manner.

30th. The bill for reorganizing the Navy Department was at last carried through, after undergoing a total metamorphosis. It abolishes the Board of Navy Commissioners, and substitutes five bureaus, three of them with captains in the navy at their head. T. B. King made an hour speech in support of the bill. Wise moved a budget of amendments, some of which passed without opposition, and others were rejected.

I moved an additional section, repealing the laws and parts of laws which authorize the President or head of Department to transfer appropriations from one branch of expenditure to another, so far as relates to the Navy Department. My amendment was adopted, and then, out of regard for King, I suffered the bill to pass.

While King was speaking, there came a message containing a bundle of protests by the President against the act of the House adopting my report of the select committee of thirteen on his last veto message. When it was read, I said a few words,

declining, from motives of personal delicacy, to propose any measures to the House. Botts moved four resolutions, three of which were in the same words with those adopted by the Senate in April, 1834, on receiving a similar protest from President Jackson, for which resolutions John Tyler and Daniel Webster both voted. Botts read large extracts from an eloquent speech of Webster on that occasion, moved a fourth resolution, that the Clerk of the House be directed to return Tyler's protest to its author. The first three resolutions were adopted—eighty-seven to forty-six; eighty-seven to forty-nine; and eighty-six to fifty-three. I declined voting upon the fourth, which was lost—sixty-two to sixty-nine.

31st. The closing day of a session of Congress is always a day of reckless confusion, and to me of distress and mortification. It was pre-eminently so this day. Mr. Tustin made an appropriate parting prayer. As soon as the journal was read, Wise moved to amend it by inserting the President's message of protest in extenso. Wise thought to get it on to the journal by this trick; but the House, having declared yesterday by resolution that it should not be entered on the journal, were not thus to be baffled of their purpose. There was a precedent precisely in point in the New Jersey election case at the first session of the Twenty-Sixth Congress, upon the notification of which by the Speaker to Mr. Wise he asked and obtained leave to withdraw his motion. From that time till half-past two o'clock the time was spent in calls of the House to obtain a quorum, in passing, rejecting, or laying on the table bills and resolutions with or without a quorum, in taking yeas and nays, counting by tellers, and driving through or defeating, as the humor happened to work. An appropriation of six thousand dollars by joint resolution was forced through by the Speaker, against my earnest and repeated remonstrances. Cushing, William Cost Johnson, Arnold, and Pope each gave notice that he should start his favorite hobby at an early day of the next session; and T. F. Marshall gave notice that he should oppose Cushing's exchequer; and McKennan gave notice that he should oppose Arnold's bill No. 548. The usual messages at the close of the session were interchanged, and at

half-past two P.M. the Speaker adjourned the House to the first Monday in December next.

September 1st. I called at the Treasury Department. The Secretary, Mr. Walter Forward, has been several weeks absent at the Bedford Springs, convalescent from a bilious fever. I read from the National Intelligencer and the Globe the reports of the passage through the House of the joint resolution from the Senate appropriating six thousand dollars for the expense of liberating citizens of the United States from Mexican captivity, taken as Texan prisoners of war in the expedition against Santa Fé last summer, and desired him particularly to mark my earnest and repeated remonstrances against it as unconstitutional. I said I knew not whether the President had signed the resolution or not, but I objected to the drawing of any money from the Treasury under its authority. I requested Mr. McClintock Young, the Chief Clerk, to inform the President of my objection, and to say that I wished to give no unnecessary trouble to the Department, or notoriety to the transaction, and would be satisfied with an assurance that no money should be drawn from the Treasury upon this resolution before the next session; but I should otherwise address and publish a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury on the subject.

2d. My mind is in the condition of a ship at sea in a hurricane, suspended by an instantaneous calm. The brain heaves, the head swims, the body totters, and I live in a perpetual waltz. The presentiment of a sudden termination to my life is rather cheering to me than painful, and a man conscious of no sin upon his soul which repentant tears may wash out can dispense with the deprecation of the Episcopal litany against sudden death. The apprehension, however, of such a close to my life ought to and does admonish me to set my house in order, to be prepared as much as a prudent forecast can provide for whatever event may by the will of God befall me. I see my duty, but I procrastinate. I had determined to devote the interval between the session of Congress just closed and the next, in all probability the last I shall ever attend, in settling all my private concerns, so that I may be ready for the summons at a minute's notice to appear before my Maker; but I have not felt

myself at liberty to decline engagements to attend two public meetings in my own district and to address them; and last evening I received a letter from Dutee J. Pearce, of Newport, Rhode Island, indicted for treason against the State, soliciting my aid in his defence. I could not hesitate an instant to undertake it, though it comes upon me like a thunder-clap. No one can imagine what I suffered when I engaged to defend before the Supreme Court of the United States the lives and liberty of thirty-six Africans of the Amistad, nor with what gratitude to Heaven I heard the decision of the Court pronouncing them free, and with what delight I dwelt upon the confident hope that it was the last occasion upon which I should ever be called to stake my personal, moral, intellectual, and political character upon issues involving the lives, fortunes, and characters of others, as well as my own. I have now on hand a controversial warfare with John Tyler, President of the United States; bitter personal hatred of five of the most depraved, most talented, and most influential men of this country, four of them open and undisguised—C. J. Ingersoll, Wise, T. F. Marshall, and W. Cost Johnson—the fifth under a mask—nameless; and now this trial for treason, which will be at least as much a trial of me as of Pearce himself. The mercy of God is the only anchor of my soul for deliverance from this ordeal.

3d. The heat and the depression of my spirits continue unabated, perhaps in the relation of cause and effect. I called at the Department of State, and saw the Chief Clerk, Fletcher Webster. His father, the Secretary of State, is gone to spend a month at Marshfield. I enquired if there was among the Acts of the session of Congress just expired deposited at the Department a joint resolution appropriating six thousand dollars of money. He said there was, sent a clerk for it, and put it into my hands. It was signed, "Approved, John Tyler." I desired Mr. Webster to say to the President that I protested against the drawing of any money from the Treasury under authority of that resolution, which I considered unconstitutional, null and void. I had remonstrated against it in vain at every stage of its passage through the House. Introduced from the Senate within the last half-hour of the session, without a word

of reason or of explanation, driven through by repeated previous questions, and for an expenditure itself very exceptionable, I had notified Mr. Young, Chief Clerk of the Treasury, that I proposed to move at the next session of Congress to rescind that resolution; that if I could be assured no money would be drawn from the Treasury under its authority I would take no further notice of it, but I would otherwise address to the Secretary of the Treasury, and publish, a letter stating my objections against it. I read to Mr. Fletcher Webster the paragraphs of the Constitution which I understand to interdict the appropriation of money by resolution, and requested him to state them to the President, and to communicate to me his decision upon the subject before next Tuesday, when I expected to leave the city. He said he would. This profligate and outrageous violation of the Constitution imposes upon me duties of bitter anguish and hopeless prospect.

5th. I received this day an impertinent letter from Fletcher Webster, bloated with self-sufficiency as an Executive officer, maintaining that an appropriation by resolution is quite as proper and valid as if made by law, and that he has already made the requisition at the Department of the Treasury for the six thousand dollars appropriated by the resolution. He says in his letter that there are numerous precedents of this course. I answered him this evening, and called for a specification of his numerous precedents.

I went also to the Capitol, and examined the journal of the Senate, and traced up the fraud to the South Carolina Senator W. C. Preston, connived at by George Evans, Chairman of their Committee of Finance—as arrant a piece of sheer knavery as ever was perpetrated at Eastcheap or found its reward at Tyburn. And Preston and Evans are two of the ablest men and most efficient Whigs in Congress.

6th. I received this day from Fletcher Webster a reply to my answer, as impertinent, as ignorant, and as insolent as the former. Into what hands have the Presidency, the Departments of State and of the Treasury, fallen! Daniel Webster, his father, Secretary of State, has gone to Marshfield to shoot snipes and fish for trout, and to patch up some shameful rents in his private finances.

7th. At precisely six o'clock took seats in the railroad cars for Baltimore. The weather warm, but pleasant. Among our fellow-travellers, not more than thirty, was Robert Tyler, the President's son, who coldly spoke to the ladies with me, but, upon enquiry of some one whether he had spoken to me, answered no, because I had abused his father. Captain Tyler's two sons are to him what nephews have usually been to the Pope, and among his minor vices is nepotism. He has quartered both of them upon the public for salaries, and made old Cooper, the broken down stage-player, father of his son Robert's wife, a military storekeeper. The son John was so distended with his dignity as secretary that he had engraved on his visiting cards, "John Tyler, Jr., Private and Confidential Secretary of his Excellency John Tyler, President of the United States." Robert is as confidential as John, and both of them divulged all his Cabinet secrets to a man named Parmelee and John Howard Payne, hired reporters for Bennett's Herald newspaper at New York, who, by their intimacy with these upstart princes, crept into the familiarity of domestic inmates at the President's house.

QUINCY, 12th.—Mr. Minot Thayer was here this afternoon, with a nephew of his, a youth of about fourteen, named Brown. I agreed to come to his house next Saturday at twelve o'clock, noon, there to meet the procession with which I am to go to Mr. Perkins's church for the reception. He says Mr. Nathaniel Morton Davis will address me and offer a series of resolutions. I have no time for preparation of an address, as I had intended and actually commenced, and must rely almost entirely on extemporaneous inspiration. Mr. Thayer expressed great alarm that the Whigs will lose the re-election of John Davis as Governor of the State for the next year, and seemed inclined to urge me to serve if nominated, and said if I would I should receive two-thirds of the votes throughout the Commonwealth. I know better; but I shall not make the trial.

14th. I employ what leisure I have in laying out a take-leave speech for next Saturday; but the variety of topics upon which I must touch is so great, and every one of them must be so largely treated, that as I think and breathe upon them they

swell like soap-bubbles blown by boys through pipe-stems, till they burst and resolve themselves into a mist.

15th. I awoke again by two in the morning with my old catarrhal cough and fever upon me, as warning of what I must undertake to go through next Saturday. This reception was projected by two successive meetings of delegates from towns in the district as long ago as last June. Mr. Loring, of Hingham, as Chairman of a committee of arrangements, wrote to me on the 25th of July informing me of the design and requesting me to name a day for the performance. I answered him, and named next Saturday at three P.M., and since that it has been advertised in the newspapers of the district, and in several of the daily papers of Boston. All this parade and ceremony is to be made for me, and I only think how ridiculously it inflates my vanity. The meeting is expected to be very large, but I am prepared for a disappointment in that. The weather is as unfavorable as possible, and I have no reason to expect it will be better. I know how hard it is to fill country churches, and I do not desire a crowded auditory. But I am to be addressed face to face, and to make an extemporaneous answer. I am to receive resolutions, and know not exactly what they will be, and must make some comment upon them. I am expected to make a long speech, and have every reason to fear it will disappoint expectations much too highly raised. The danger of giving offence is imminent. The power of compressing and arranging what I have to say is very severely tested. The themes are all too copious, and I feel my deficiency in the art of abridging.

17th. Mr. Seth Sprague, Junr., of Duxbury, a member of the Senate of the State, from the county of Plymouth, and a member of the committee of arrangements for the meeting of this day, called on me this morning and gave me to read the resolutions which he proposed to offer, and which were honorary to me quite as much as I could desire. I agreed with him to meet the committee between twelve and one at Minot Thayer's house. I rode accordingly, and about twenty minutes to one found at Mr. Thayer's a small number of his family, and a collation; but we had taken one before we left home. Soon after

one the committee came and met me at Mr. Thayer's, the convention having marched in procession from the Universalist Church to that of Mr. Perkins, which is of the Congregationalist orthodox denomination. At the head of the committee was Mr. Nathaniel Morton Davis, of Plymouth, a member of the Governor's Council. We proceeded to the meeting-house, where Mr. Perkins, in his pulpit, began the ceremony with a fervid prayer. Immediately in front of the pulpit was erected a stage, on which were several clergymen and magistrates, and where the committee took seats, and I was myself stationed. The house was crowded in all its parts almost to suffocation. It appeared to me one solid mass of humanity, and that there was not room for one individual more to creep into. The men covered the floor, and the women the galleries all round, except a part of the front gallery, reserved for a choir of singers.

After the prayer, Mr. Davis read an address to the assembled company, announcing to them the object of the meeting, and to me, in terms which put me to the blush, so that I was utterly unable to reply to them. They were intended in kindness; but in fulsome praise I can take no pleasure, and it always covers me with humiliation. I shuffled off as soon as possible all reference to my former services in my Administration, and addressed the meeting as my constituents, whom I had served for the last twelve years, and from a great portion, if not all, of whom I am now finally to part. I spoke about three hours, from two to five o'clock, without interruption, and without a moment's flagging of attention. I read several of the pages that I had written, intermingled with so much extemporaneous enlargement and illustration that the discourse was at once compact and diversified. The introductory and concluding passages which I had written enabled me to begin and finish acceptably.

Mr. Sprague's resolutions were then read, and adopted without opposition; and then an ode was sung, written by the Rev. John Pierpont, to the tune of God Save the King,—very flattering, but with a monitorial closing stanza scarcely intelligible.[1]

[1] "But time shall touch the page
That tells how Quincy's sage
Has dared to live,

The meeting was then dismissed with a benediction by Mr. Perkins. We got home by eight o'clock.[1]

24th. When I last called upon my colleague George N. Briggs at Washington, where he was detained after the close of the late session by a bilious fever, he gave me a warm invitation to the cattle show and fair in his county of Berkshire, which was to be held the first week in October. Though I had little expectation of being able to go, I did not refuse; and yesterday I received a letter from him, very earnestly urging and pressing the invitation. I have an aversion, almost amounting to abhorrence, to attendance at all public meetings for speech-making, and avoid them as I would a pestilence. Yet the fashion of holding them spreads and multiplies all over this country, to such a degree that I have neither leisure nor quiet, and am kept in continual agitation to escape from them. Having engaged to deliver a lecture at Boston on the evening of the 6th of October, I cannot attend at Pittsfield on the 5th. I wrote accordingly to Mr. Briggs.

26th. Mr. Dutee J. Pearce came this morning, not to breakfast, but immediately after, accompanied by Burrington Anthony, heretofore Marshal of the United States in the judicial district of Rhode Island, and one of the principal actors in the recent troubles and revolutionary movements of that State. He left Mr. Pearce with me, and we had a conversation of two hours upon his present condition. He left with me a copy of the indictment found against him for treason, in which there are four counts, the overt act charged in them all being the same—namely, assuming to exercise the legislative functions of the office of member of the House of Representatives of the State, not being duly elected thereto, according to the laws of the State, but under a pretended Constitution of government.

Save as he touches wine,
Or Shakspeare's glowing line,
Or Raphael's form divine,
New life to give."

[1] The proceedings at this meeting were published in a pamphlet of sixty-three pages, bearing the following title: "Address of John Quincy Adams to his Constituents of the Twelfth Congressional District, at Braintree, September 17th, 1842."

The second count charges that he, with other false traitors to the jurors unknown, did assemble, and vote, and assent to sundry laws and acts of pretended legislation.

The third count charges assembling with others, not being duly elected, to exercise the legislative authority; and the fourth has the same charge, with the addition of the pretended Constitution. The date of the offence charged in the first and fourth counts is the 3d, and in the second and third counts the 4th, of May, 1842. In the event of a trial, which is quite uncertain, but, if held at all, it will be in the last week of next month, Mr. Pearce wished me to act as his closing counsel; and I promised so to undertake. Several questions were started between us, concerning the law of treason, arising from the case; but we had not time to go largely into them. There was one as to the legality of holding the trial at Newport, but this, he said, would be decided next week.

29th. Soon after twelve o'clock, there came to my house a procession of about five hundred persons, with a band of music, and the Rev. John Pierce, of Brookline, D.D., at their head. I met them at my gate, and he said he had been this morning elected President of the Norfolk County Temperance Society, and that they had come to escort me to the pavilion where they were to dine. Justin Spear, George Newcomb, the Rev. William M. Cornell, ex-minister of the Orthodox Congregational Church, and the Rev. John Gregory, minister of the Universalist Church, were in the procession. We marched, sonorous metal blowing martial sounds, to the pavilion adjoining the town-hall, in Coddington Street, to which the town-hall itself has been since last winter removed. Under the pavilion a cold dinner or collation was prepared on a trident table of several hundred covers, every plate of which was occupied, with a profusion of pitchers full of cold water to drink. Mr. John Pierpont said grace before meat, and Mr. Colver returned thanks. No toasts after dinner, but much discussion whether there should be or not. The dinner lasted about an hour; and the procession then went to the Universalist meeting-house, which the pilgrims of the procession filled to the brim. The discourses were all delivered in the pulpit; they were interspersed with the singing of tem-

perance hymns. Mr. Pierce presided; Mr. Pierpont made the introductory prayer. Mr. Pierce then gave a sentiment in honor of the town of Quincy, first intended as a toast for the dinner, and, somewhat awkwardly, introduced me to the auditory. I then read my address, which occupied just one hour in the delivery. It was listened to with deep and undivided attention, and faintly applauded at the close, but did not suit the Society before which I spoke, nor their doctrines of total abstinence from the use of wine—which I neither approve nor practise.[1] Extemporaneous addresses followed, from Edmund Quincy, Mr. Pierpont, Mr. Colver, who made the concluding prayer, and by two other persons—all urging the principle of total abstinence, and pronouncing ludicrous invectives upon wine, fermentation, distillation, alcohol arsenic; also upon rumsellers, traders in ardent spirits, and spruce beer. Quincy was solemn and tragical; Pierpont, facetious and farcical; the others, rude and radical. Notice was given of another meeting, with addresses, at seven o'clock this evening, at the Orthodox meeting-house. Our meeting was dismissed with a blessing by Dr. Pierce, after the adoption of several resolutions. As I walked home, I was overtaken by Edmund Quincy, going home to Dedham, in his wagon chaise.

October 1st. After dinner, Dr. Brewer, one of the editors of the Boston Atlas, called, being on his return from Boston to Hingham, where he is passing the summer. He came to urge me to furnish him, as soon as possible, with a copy of my address at Weymouth on the 17th of last month. A number of the principal Whigs of Boston, during Mr. Webster's visit to his farm at Marshfield, gave him an invitation to a public dinner, which he declined, and proposed as a substitute a meeting at Faneuil Hall, where he might exchange greetings with all his fellow-citizens who might be so disposed. This meeting was accordingly held yesterday. The Mayor of the city presided, and addressed him in a highly complimentary style, which he answered by a speech, which was received by a crowded hall

[1] This address was also published in pamphlet form, making twenty-four pages, under this title: "Address to the Norfolk County Temperance Society, at their Meeting at Quincy, 29 September, 1842."

with every external show of enthusiastic applause, but which was bitter as wormwood to nearly the whole of the Whig party, and sweeter than honey to the radical Democracy; boastful, cunning, jesuitical, fawning, and insolent; ambiguous in its givings out, avowing his determination not to let them know whether he intends to resign his office or not, arguing all sorts of reasons for his retaining it, but intimating that he may perhaps release his grasp upon it; dealing open blows at the late Whig Convention for their resolution of total severance from John Tyler, and sly stabs at Clay and me, without naming either of us. The whole purport of his speech was to propitiate the Democracy, and to split up the Whigs and out of the two fragments to make a Tyler party.

I promised Dr. Brewer to write out my speech as soon as possible, and that I thought I could have it ready in the course of a week. Caleb Cushing, too, has had a magnificent reception at Newburyport, and the signs of the Tyler party are much stronger than I could have imagined. Brewer told me that he had several letters from Caleb Cushing against me—particularly, written last winter, arguing that the Southern slave-dealers were right, and I was wrong, in all the proceedings upon the right of petition.

5th. This afternoon Mr. Jotham Lincoln and Mr. Lewis, of Hingham, called here on their return from Dedham, where they had been to attend a convention of Whig delegates from the towns of the newly constituted Eighth Congressional District of the Commonwealth; it consists of all the towns—twenty-two—in the county of Norfolk, with the towns of Hingham, Abington, North Bridgewater, and Hull, in Plymouth County, and Brighton, Natick, Newton, Sherburne, and Holliston, in Middlesex—thirty-one towns, eleven of which are in the late Twelfth Congressional District. Fourteen towns in Norfolk, five in Middlesex, and one in Plymouth are added to make the district. Thirteen of the towns in Plymouth County which I have represented are taken away and allotted to another district. Mr. Lincoln said that the delegation from the towns was numerous, and that the nomination of me was unanimous, no other person being named. It was made vivâ voce. Sundry

resolutions were adopted, and a committee appointed to inform me of my nomination; of which Minot Thayer is Chairman. The other members of the committee are Samuel H. Walley, of Roxbury, who presided at the Convention, and Mr. Brigham, of this town. Mr. Thayer was afterwards here. Mr. Thayer proposed that the committee should come to inform me of my nomination next Monday afternoon.

This nomination by the Whigs furnishes by no means conclusive evidence of what turn the election may take. The Democracy have the majority in the county of Norfolk. Their Convention for the nomination of a candidate is to be held next Tuesday. Besides which, there is a strong abolition party in the district, and a considerable portion, if not the whole, of that party will not vote for me, but for a candidate of their own. They have defeated an election in the Ninth District, and consisting chiefly of the same towns; and they may, if they please, defeat the election of the Eighth District to the next Congress. Nothing is more uncertain.

Boston, 6th.—I went to Mr. Abbott Lawrence's. He had sent me yesterday an invitation to take tea with him, but he had received a call of business to Lowell, and had not returned; but Mrs. Lawrence and her daughter Anna were there, and she entertained me with flattering conversation till he returned. While we were at tea, Mr. George Bancroft came in. He walked with me and Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence to the Odeon. We met Mr. Field on the way, and Mr. George T. Bigelow met us at the side-door. I avoid on these occasions every possible appearance of parade or ostentation. The house, a very large one, was crowded to the brim, and the whole auditory rose as we went in. Mr. Lawrence, who is the President of the Lyceum, introduced me with a few complimentary phrases, which were received with applause; and precisely at half-past seven I began the delivery of my lecture, which I finished a quarter-before nine. It was the lecture which I wrote two years ago upon Filmer, Hobbes, Algernon Sidney, and Democracy, but which I had never before delivered. It was so dull that I scarcely hoped that it would be listened to with patience; and yet the attention of the audience never flagged for a

moment.[1] Dr. Brewer came and enquired about my Weymouth speech, which I promised as soon as possible. Mr. Lawrence told me there was a committee at his house who wanted me to come to Boston and make a political speech; but, he said, I could see them on Saturday. From the Odeon I got immediately into my carriage, and returned, as I had gone, alone to Quincy.

QUINCY, 9th.—Mr. Lunt preached this forenoon from Psalm li. 6: "Behold, thou desirest truth in the inward parts." It was a funeral discourse on the decease of Dr. William Ellery Channing, and a noble tribute of honor to his memory. He spoke in general terms of his early writings, and of the general character of his mind, and of his compositions. He was one of the most eminent writers upon religion, morals, and politics that this country has produced, writing always in the genuine spirit of Christianity, with the tenderness of a father to his children, and always looking to the improvement and purification of the human character, especially in the humbler and indigent classes of the community. His recent labors have been chiefly confined to promoting the cause of universal liberty, and the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the earth. Mr. Lunt did him ample justice on this point. He gave a short extract from the last address, delivered at Lenox, on the first day of last August, and spoke of it in terms of enthusiastic applause. This was very creditable to Mr. Lunt, inasmuch as Dr. Channing's course has on this subject been too bold and anti-servile for the timid and the time-serving friends of freedom. Dr. Channing never flinched or quailed before the enemy. But he was deserted by many of his followers, and lost so many of his parishioners, that he had yielded to his colleague, E. S. Gannett, the whole care of his pastoral office, giving up all claim to salary, and reserving only the privilege of occasionally preaching to them at his conve-

[1] This address was afterwards printed in pamphlet form at Providence, under the following title: "The Social Compact exemplified in the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, with Remarks on the Theories of Divine Right of Hobbes and Filmer, and the Counter Theories of Sidney, Locke, Montesquieu, and Rousseau concerning the Nature and Origin of Government."

nience. The loss of Dr. Channing to the anti-slavery cause is irreparable.

10th. After dinner, Mr. Benjamin F. Copeland, Minot Thayer, and William Oliver, of Dorchester, came as a committee from the Whig Convention of the new Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts, held at Dedham on the 5th instant, to inform me of my being unanimously nominated to represent that district in the Twenty-Eighth Congress, and to communicate to me certain resolutions adopted by that Convention, expressing their approbation of my conduct in Congress hitherto. Mr. Walley was the Chairman of the committee, but was detained by private business, and could not come. Mr. Brigham, with Mr. Thayer and Mr. Oliver, were also a committee from the Convention of the county of Norfolk, to request me to meet with them on some day of this month, at Dedham. I accepted the nomination, with thanks for the honorable manner in which it was made, and for the resolutions with which it was accompanied; and I promised an answer as soon as I shall be able to ascertain whether my other engagements will permit me to meet and address the Whigs of Norfolk County at Dedham.

11th. I wrote to Mr. George T. Bigelow a short letter, withdrawing my promise to address the Boston Whig Association on the 27th of this month. I found this absolutely necessary to justify a refusal to attend at any public political meeting before my return to Washington. I accordingly wrote an answer, declining an invitation to a public dinner at Sandwich, and on turning over my letters recently received, to endorse and file them, I found one which I had totally forgotten, from Clarkson Crolius, Junr., and E. D. West, Aldermen, and William Dodge, an Assistant Alderman, of New York, committee of invitations for the Common Council of that city, inviting me to a festival to be held on the 14th of this month, in celebration of the introduction of the Croton water into the city. There was on the note a twice-repeated request for an answer, which I had overlooked till now. I answered the letter, declining the invitation, and sent it to Gillett, to be taken by him to-morrow morning to Boston and put into the post-office, so that it may reach New York on Thursday, the day before the feast.

My unceasing drudgery in writing out the supplement to my Weymouth speech continues unabated, and has come to blister my fingers.

Towards evening, Mr. Grinnell, of New Bedford, and Mr. Tuck, of Nantucket, came—the former with a pressing invitation to attend a public meeting of Whigs in Bristol County next week, on Wednesday, and address them, at or near Taunton; and with another invitation to me to visit my friends at New Bedford—both of which I declined.

The multitude of applications to me to deliver addresses and lectures, with which I cannot comply, has brought me to the conclusion of returning in the first week of next month to Washington, to see if I can obtain a few days of leisure and repose there. Charles, at my request, saw Mr. Choate at Boston this morning. He does not consider himself as having made any engagement to come out and deliver an address to the Whigs of Quincy. Nor does he expect that I should attend and introduce him. With regard to his opinions, he was quite reserved.

12th. Mr. Thomas Adams, Junr., and Mr. Horton came this morning for my answer to their invitation to me to attend a meeting of the Whigs of Quincy and introduce to them Mr. Choate, who has promised to make them a speech. I told them that I had come to the conclusion that I could not with propriety attend: first, because I had invariably, since I had held the office of President of the United States, forborne attending and taking part in any electioneering public meeting; and secondly, because I knew not what the sentiments of Mr. Choate were, and perhaps he might express opinions with which I might not concur, and then I should be held responsible for his opinions, or under the necessity of contesting them, which would tend rather to dissension than to harmony among the Whigs.

They acquiesced in my determination, but enquired anxiously if it was true that I had declared it as my opinion that Thomas W. Dorr was now the lawful Governor of Rhode Island. I told them certainly not. It is a lie published in the Boston Morning Post, originating in my having undertaken to defend

Dutee J. Pearce as his counsel on his trial for treason. I told them that my son had, at my request, seen Mr. Choate, who had told him that he had not expected that I should be present at the meeting here at which he proposed to address the Whigs.

13th. My diary becomes almost exclusively a record of invitations to attend and address public meetings or to lecture lyceums. This morning, Mr. Charles T. Smyth, a commission merchant at Albany, came with Mr. Earle, of Boston, with an invitation from the Albany Young Men's Association to visit that place and deliver a lecture or address before them. Mr. Smyth brought with him letters of recommendation from Mr. Daniel D. Barnard, and from the Rev. John Campbell, heretofore minister of the Second Presbyterian Church, but now settled at Albany, both urging me to come. With them was a letter from Mr. Hooper C. Van Vorst, Corresponding Secretary of the Association, said to number upwards of one thousand young men. He reminds me of the conditional engagement I had made last year, and which was disappointed by my indisposition; but I was obliged to decline also for the present year.

This afternoon, Mr. William Blake, a merchant of Boston, formerly of Springfield, came out with Mrs. Blake and delivered to me a letter of invitation signed by Charles Stevens and four others, a committee of the Springfield Lyceum, requesting me to deliver a lecture to them on the 19th instant, or any other day that may suit my convenience. And to this is added a request, signed by thirty-four names of citizens of Springfield, to Mr. Blake to apply to me personally to urge my compliance with the invitation from the committee of the Lyceum. I am tired of repeating the same answer to all these solicitations, but I have none other to give. I answered this day a letter from William Hill, who came from Cambridge with two invitations of John Owen—one for the Lyceum, and one for the Temperance Society; and I have yet to answer a letter from John Marsh, Corresponding Secretary of the American Temperance Union, New York, requesting me to repeat my temperance lecture; then one from A. S. Train, President of the Lyceum

at Haverhill, asking for a lecture there; one from Charles R. Train, of Framingham, requiring a political address to a meeting of Whigs there, at some convenient time; one from Charles A. Andrew, enquiring if I can deliver a lecture before the Salem Lyceum on the 26th instant, or any other day; and one from President Quincy, notifying the committee of the October exhibition that it will be next Tuesday.

15th. Mr. Lunt called again this morning, and told me that he had seen last evening Mr. Lewis Bass, Chairman of the Lyceum Lecturing Committee, who had agreed to postpone the delivery of my lecture till next Wednesday week, and the notice in the Quincy Patriot of this morning was dated accordingly. I agreed, therefore, to go with Mr. Lunt next Wednesday to the ordination of Mr. Huntington, at Boston. I labored like a slave all day upon my task of writing out, with enlargement, my speech on the reception day at Braintree. But towards evening, Mr. George Tyler Bigelow, Mr. Fearing, and two other members of the Boston Whig Association came out to urge me once more to deliver to them a political address before the close of this month. Webster's speech at Faneuil Hall has dislocated all the joints of the Whig party, and they are in great fear that it will deliver over the State to Marcus Morton and the mongrel Democracy. Cushing has been stumping at Newburyport, Haverhill, and Lowell, for the same purpose. These gentlemen believe that my counteracting influence would save the State; but they are entirely mistaken. I had a letter yesterday from Joseph Sprague, of Salem, to the same effect. But electioneering speeches now would pass for stumping to carry my own election. I have always abstained from it, and must still abstain. I told them that, without wishing to interfere in any of the State elections, I was entirely satisfied with the nomination of John Davis, both for re-election as Governor and for the office of Vice-President, and that as to national politics, my speech at Braintree would be published in the Atlas next week, and would give the Whigs all the assistance which I believed it in my power to afford. I mentioned to them my engagement to defend Dutee J. Pearce upon his trial for treason, and contradicted the paragraph in the Morning

Post asserting that I had given it as my opinion that Thomas W. Dorr was now the lawful Governor of Rhode Island.

17th. Mr. Brigham called this afternoon for my definitive answer to the invitation to address the Whigs of the county of Norfolk, in the course of this month, at Dedham. I told Mr. Brigham that I must definitively decline; and I believe I convinced Mr. Brigham that it would be better for the Whig party, as well as for myself, that I should abstain from attendance at any of these public meetings at this time. Towards sunset, finding myself falling asleep over my paper while writing, I was walking up the hill, when Mr. Joseph Grinnell, of New Bedford, overtook me in a chaise, and delivered to me a letter, signed by seventeen very respectable citizens of that town, earnestly entreating me to attend the great Whig meeting at Taunton next Wednesday; and I had received a very kind and warm invitation from Mr. John Marston, of that town, to his house. I repeated to Mr. Grinnell all the reasons which I had given to Mr. Brigham and to the committee from Boston for declining to attend these public meetings, and added that I was now under an engagement for Wednesday, which would render my attendance at Taunton impossible. He wished me to answer the letter from the seventeen gentlemen of New Bedford, so that my answer could be read at the meeting; but that would be difficult, and, I believe, inexpedient.

The first part of my Braintree reception speech was published in the Boston Atlas of this morning, and they sent me six copies of the paper containing it.

18th. I went to Cambridge this morning, and attended the meeting of the Committee of Overseers, to examine the state of the University, and the autumnal exhibition. We went with Mr. Quincy first to the new dining-hall, around which all the portraits are ranged, new varnished and freshened; but the best of them all, the full length of my father, painted by Copley in 1783, has been damaged by a hole punched through the canvas on the shoulder.

At the meeting, I was chosen chairman for the day. President Quincy read reports from the several professors of the Divinity and Law Schools, and of all the professors, tutors, and

teachers of the undergraduates; all of which were very satisfactory. The President's own report came last, and spoke of the general state of the University as favorable, with two exceptions; one a brutal explosion by gunpowder in one of the buildings, last July, the perpetrator of which has not been discovered; the other is a disorderly and outrageous mutiny in the Senior class, begun by one member of the class breaking the windows of another named Burchard, and then a succession of personal violence and cruelties, implicating at last the whole class, to drive away Burchard from the college. The last movement is a statement in a Boston newspaper, by authority of the whole class, against the Faculty. The statement was referred to a committee of three members, to report thereon to the Board of Overseers at their next meeting. The committee chosen were Dr. Codman, Dr. Lamson, and Mr. Saltonstall. The other papers were delivered to Josiah Quincy, Junr., Chairman of the Examining Committee at their last spring meeting. At eleven o'clock we passed into the exhibition-room, where, with the usual music of the Pierian Sodality, and the usual expectations of the President, fifteen orations, dissertations, disquisitions, versions, and dialogues were delivered in three hours, and one was omitted. The languages were English, Latin, and Greek. The committee, with two or three gentlemen invited as guests, dined in the chamber adjoining that where the meeting was held. Conversation about the Bible, Shakspeare, and temperance.

22d. Morning visit from William and Samuel Lawrence, the latter of whom presented to me a copy of a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Whigs of Lowell, last Saturday evening, in the highest degree complimentary to me, with a very earnest invitation to me that I would deliver an address to the Whigs of that city previous to the approaching election; a second resolution, that Samuel Lawrence, Esq., be a committee to present to me that invitation; and a third, that a copy of it be forwarded to me.

I answered as I have fortunately done to all the applications for political addresses to be delivered with reference to the elections, expressing my gratitude for the honor done me by

the invitation, but that I had declined, and must decline, all invitations to deliver addresses to political meetings. But, I said, I had received an invitation to deliver a lecture before the Lyceum at Lowell, which I had not answered. I would engage to go some day the week after next, and deliver that lecture—which Mr. Samuel Lawrence said would answer just as well as an address; for what the people of Lowell wanted was to see and hear me. And so it is with all these importunate invitations. It is the same curiosity under the spur of which they flock and pay to see the ourang-outang, the mermaid, the anaconda, or the rhinoceros.

24th. Just before dinner, five very respectable-looking men of color, three negroes and two light mulattoes, came as a delegation from a meeting of the people of color in Boston, at which, they told me, upwards of five hundred persons were present, to solicit me to act as counsel in behalf of George Latimer, claimed as a slave by James B. Gray, of Norfolk, Virginia. They delivered to me a letter from S. E. Sewall and Amos Binney Merrill, lawyers of Boston, engaged as counsel for Latimer, recommending them to me and the object of their mission. I answered them, expressing my grateful sensibility to the colored people of Boston for this mark of their confidence in me, and said I would cheerfully comply with their invitation if I were still in the practice of the law, but that for more than thirty years I had been withdrawn from it by other occupations, and, except in one instance about two years ago, when I argued before the Supreme Court of the United States the cause of the captive Africans of the Amistad, I had never resumed the practice. I had now one contingent engagement to defend Mr. Dutee J. Pearce upon an indictment against him for treason, but I hoped he would not be tried at all. This, too, was a very extraordinary occasion, and upon no other should I feel myself justified in attempting to address a Court and jury. But they might say to Mr. Sewall and Mr. Merrill that if any point of law should occur upon which they might think that my opinion would be of any service to their client, I would cheerfully give it at their request. They asked me to write a word of answer to Messrs. Sewall and Merrill; which I promised to do.

29th. My first visitor this morning was Mr. Southwick, a young man about twenty-five, who came from Mendon to see me, and the house in which my father and I were born, and the house in which I live, and its furniture and pictures, and everything about it. He sat with me upwards of an hour, almost the whole time silent, asking about once in five minutes some question about my father or myself, answering very briefly what questions I asked of him, seeming afraid to say what brought him here, and yet sitting like a fixture to the house, while I was in torture, wishing him to go away, without daring to hint to him that my time was my treasure. At last he enquired if I had any spare copies of any of my published writings to sell.

I said no, but I had some that I would give him; and I did give him a eulogy on James Monroe, a Jubilee of the Constitution, a Texas speech of 1838, a speech on the Navy Pension Fund, on the case of McLeod, and a tariff report.

He very earnestly urged me to allow him to pay for them—which I declined.

He was scarcely gone, when Dr. Brewer, one of the editors of the Atlas, came in with Thurlow Weed, editor of the Evening Journal, at Albany, come, deputed by the Whig Association there, to entreat me to go there and address the Whigs upon public affairs. He said it was their only chance to save the State.

I well know that my going there and addressing the Whigs would not have the weight of a straw to save the State; and it was equally clear that the State cannot be saved. I satisfied Mr. Weed, who brought me a recommendatory letter from Governor William H. Seward, that I could not go to preach politics at Albany, and that if I should it would be of no avail.

November 7th. I finally made out to take the fourteenth quarto volume of my diary to Mr. Gill, the bookbinder, to be bound. But I have not been able to assort about fifty volumes of loose pamphlets which encumber my rooms. I added to the volume sundry fragments, for I have found it impossible to keep my diary unbroken. Since 1st June, 1839, there is no chasm; a page a day, and rarely two pages, have been my

continual task; but the keeping of a diary that I would recommend would be quarto volumes of one size, five hundred pages each, every page divided by two red lines into three equal parts, the entries to be made in abridged style and form of memoranda, never to exceed or fall short of one-third of a page; each volume to contain the record of four years. In sixty years this would make fifteen volumes of five hundred pages each—quite enough for the autobiography of one man. I have already more volumes, and multitudes of fragments—trash inexpressible, which I pray to God may never be exposed, but which I leave to my son, to be used according to his good judgment for a memoir of my life; and if, by the mercy of God, the manuscript should be preserved, to be left, with those of my father, to one of my grandsons, who may be worthy of possessing and passing them down to future generations.

12th. I received, as usual, a number of letters requesting me to deliver lectures in sundry places, and among them one from Joseph L. Tillinghast, of Providence, Rhode Island, requesting a copy of my lecture upon Democracy, for publication. This has occasioned no small embarrassment in my mind, for the topic is as sharp with quills as the fretful porcupine, and the same opinions which have been very favorably received here may be very obnoxious there. I need a guiding spirit as much as I ever did at any period of my life. My present position is one of great popularity with a falling party, and in falling with them the prospect for me is of a sudden and overwhelming reverse, in which case persecution may come not only upon myself, which I can bear with fortitude, but upon those to whom my good name is not only dear but necessary for their comfort. I have deliberately assumed an aggressive position against the President and his whole Executive Administration, against the Supreme Court of the United States, and against the Commander-in-chief of the army. I am at issue with all the organized powers of the Union, with the twelve hundred millions of dollars of associated wealth, and with all the rabid Democracy of the land. I do not mistake my position nor disguise to myself its perils. But my cause is the cause of my country and of human liberty. It is the cause of Christian improvement,

the fulfilment of the prophecies that the day shall come when slavery and war shall be banished from the face of the earth.

14th. Dr. Duggan called on me with a paper signed by him and Noah Curtis, requesting Governor Davis to appoint John Adams Green, publisher of the Quincy Patriot, a Justice of the Peace. Green has been divorced from a first wife, and some months since was married in my house to Elizabeth Kirk. He is of the Democratic party, and so are a majority of the voters in the town of Quincy, and Green is as impartial to the opposite, or Whig party, as he dares to be. I signed the paper, which Duggan came again in the afternoon and took away. Dr. Duggan is the member from Quincy in the State Legislature. He was a member in 1839 and 1840. Henry Wood supplanted him in 1841, and he again supplanted Wood for the present year. He found, however, that his party had resolved to drop him for the next year, and last evening he sent a letter to the Democratic caucus requesting not to be considered a candidate. When I was upon my trial last winter, the Doctor offered in the Legislature a strong and warm resolution in my favor. It was referred to a joint committee, of which Seth Sprague, Junr., was Chairman on the part of the Senate. The committee never reported; Duggan says, truly, by dissuasion of Sprague. Saltonstall had written to somebody that Preston, of South Carolina, was Chairman in Congress of the Senate on the Massachusetts claim, and if the resolution in my favor should be adopted by the Legislature the claim would suffer for it. Such is political friendship—Webster was under the rose. I gave Dr. Duggan six of my published pamphlets.

15th. The Atlas and Courier, Boston newspapers, did not come by this morning's mail, and until the afternoon we were left in doubt of the result of my own election, and of all the rest. The papers came in the afternoon. The Atlas only contained the returns from all the towns in the Eighth Congressional District, excepting Roxbury and Brighton. In the twenty-nine towns the returns are of five thousand two hundred and seventy-two for me, four thousand nine hundred and eight for Ezra Wilkinson, of Dedham, and sixty scattering, leaving me a majority of three hundred and four votes, which the re-

turns from Brighton and Roxbury will increase to about four hundred. In Boston, Robert C. Winthrop is elected for the remaining session of this Congress, and for the next. The Whig ticket for Senators of the county of Suffolk, and the Boston ticket of thirty-five members of the House of Representatives, with the name of my son, Charles Francis Adams, at its head, is elected. All the other elections are excessively disjointed—the Whigs overwhelmed, and the Democracy altogether in the ascendant. I went to the bank and took out current money for my wife's journey to Washington; and to the town-hall, where I voted for Lysander Richards as Representative for the town in the State Legislature; but the Rev. John Gregory was chosen, the minister of the Universalist Church, a stranger in the town—a Democrat. It is remarkable that four of the most envenomed towns against me in the district are Braintree, Randolph, Quincy, and Weymouth—three of which are formed of my native town of Braintree, and the fourth the native town of my mother. Mr. Beale and Mr. Minot Thayer came to take leave of us before our departure for Washington. Thayer is mortified, and ashamed of the Braintrees; but the people are a wayward master.

16th. This was a day of comparative tranquillity, but of intense occupation without progress—trivial, but not trifling, occupation.

> "'I've lost a day!' the prince who nobly said,
> Had been an emperor without his crown,"

saith the English poet, Young; and I deem it the duty of every Christian man, when he betakes himself to his nightly pillow, in self-examination to say, What good have I done this day? Ay! and what evil have I done that may be repaired or repented of? Nor should he rise from that pillow the next morning till after the enquiry, What good can I do, and to whom, this day? I have made this my rule for many years, with superadded prayer to the Lord of all, the Giver of every good gift, for light, for discernment, for guidance, for self-control, for a grateful heart to feel and acknowledge all His blessings, for humble resignation to His will, and submission

to His chastisements. I believe myself sincere; but the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked. I do not believe the total depravity of man, but I am deeply conscious of the frailty of my own nature. Jesus Christ went about doing good—I would do the same. The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak. And now, what has been the occupation of this day? Writing the journal of yesterday; a letter to Joseph L. Tillinghast, of Providence, in answer to one from him inviting me to deliver a lecture before the Lyceum at that place; a letter to J. B. Mann, of Natick, in answer to an invitation from him to deliver a lecture before the Lyceum of that town. In the general wreck of the Whig party in this Commonwealth and throughout the Union, my son and myself are left among the ruins, still to contend against the misrule of a triumphant, fraudulent, and reckless Democracy. A severe trial awaits us both; and I trust it will be the last of my political struggles upon earth. Never throughout my life have I stood more in need of the merciful and controlling hand of Omnipotent goodness to direct my path. The prospect before me is all but hopeless. I have no encouragement to expect the accomplishment of good; all that it can be possible to effect may be the prevention of some evil. Heaven will at last vindicate its own justice by producing good out of evil—but not in my time.

18th. Finished a letter to the editors of the Boston Atlas, containing a correction of the statement, made in my reception address, that the Commander-in-Chief of the army, General Scott, is a slave-holder. His sensitiveness to the imputation is a signal demonstration of the pungency of the general statement. He is a native of Virginia, and a very favorable specimen of the tribe. I inferred of course that he was a slave-holder, without reflecting that in his military capacity his life has been almost entirely spent in the free States, where he could not hold slaves. His letter has given me an opportunity at once to acknowledge the error of my statement respecting him and to show that it is perfectly immaterial to the argument for which I adduced it, and also to touch again upon a Northern nerve in a torpid state, to see if it cannot be quickened into sensation. I wrote also a notification to all lyceums, literary

and political associations from which I have received invitations to deliver before them orations, lectures, or addresses, to apologize, with a grateful sense of their favors, for my inability not only to comply with their invitations, but even to answer the letters in which they were conveyed.

22d. Happening to look into one of the book-cases in Charles's study, my hand, guided by some instinct for which I cannot account, chanced to alight on a volume of Tracts belonging to him—on opening which, the first thing that met my eye was the opinion of the late Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, William Johnson, of South Carolina, pronouncing the negro Act of that State, for imprisoning colored seamen arriving in the State, unconstitutional. At the last session of Congress I had moved a resolution of the House of Representatives, calling on the President for copies of a correspondence on this subject at the Department of State, and particularly of this opinion of Judge Johnson. The President answered this resolution by Document 119, received 2d March last, furnishing the correspondence, and adding, in so many words, "I am not informed of the existence of any official opinion of the late Judge Johnson on the unconstitutionality of the Act or Acts of the State of South Carolina upon the subject referred to in the resolution." I had been two years eagerly searching for this opinion, when it was now so unexpectedly cast in my way. I took it to the Emancipator office and showed it to Mr. Leavitt, who promised to publish it in the paper, together with the Document 119. But I wished to have them also both published in a paper of wider circulation, and took the volume to the Atlas office and proposed to Mr. Hayden the publication of them in that paper; observing, at the same time, that I did not wish to press the request upon him if it would be adverse to the political course of the paper. He said he would without hesitation publish them.

WASHINGTON, *December* 5th.—Third session of the Twenty-Seventh Congress commences. I was absorbed in reading the letters and papers received by the mail this morning, till I was belated in reaching the hall of the House of Representatives. The House had been in session ten minutes when I took my

seat, and they were occupied in calling the roll of members by States when I entered. One hundred and seventy-four members answered to their names. Caleb Cushing moved the message to the Senate and the appointment of a joint committee to wait on the President and inform him that the two Houses are assembled and ready to receive any communication from him. Tillinghast moved the appointment of a joint library committee. The usual orders were passed for the supply of newspapers, equal to three for each member.

Horace Everett gave notice that he would to-morrow, or as soon as may be, move to introduce a bill to repeal the Bankrupt Act.

I gave notice that I would to-morrow move a resolution to rescind the twenty-first rule, which excludes abolition petitions from reception.

Henry A. Wise objected to the reception of my motion; but, as it was only notice of my intention to offer a resolution, he could not exclude it. W. Cost Johnson also manifested a disposition to object to the reception of the resolution; and Turney, of Tennessee, told me I began early with my hot shot.

The order for the appointment of Chaplains was passed. The Clerk came back from the Senate-chamber with notice that they had not formed a quorum, and at half-past twelve the House adjourned till twelve to-morrow. Some eighty members, all but one or two of them Whigs, came and shook hands with me at my seat, and the mutual greeting appeared all round friendly and good-humored.

6th. At the House. No quorum of the Senate yet. I now offered my resolution that the twenty-first rule, excluding abolition petitions from reception, should be rescinded. Wise objected again to the reception of the resolution. The Speaker decided that it was in order; Wise protested against the decision, but did not venture to appeal. Weller, of Ohio, moved to lay the resolution on the table; lost, by yeas and nays—eighty-four to ninety-three.

Horace Everett moved the previous question. There was a second; but the House refused to take the main question now, that is, this day, by yeas and nays—eighty-four to ninety-three.

The old game is playing over again by the Northern Democratic alliance with Southern slavery.

John Thompson Mason, of Maryland, announced the sudden decease of his colleague James W. Williams, and pronounced a frigid panegyric upon his character. He died last week in his carriage, within three miles of his own house, on his way to Washington to attend the session of Congress. Mason offered the usual resolutions of sympathizing sensibility, to wear crape thirty days, and to adjourn—all which were adopted, of course.

I had a visit by card from the new Mexican Minister, General Almonte.

7th. At the meeting of the House this morning, W. Cost Johnson moved that five thousand copies of a document of the last session, called for upon a resolution offered by me, containing a statement of the debts of the several States, should be printed; but his motion was laid on the table.

I called up my resolution for rescinding the twenty-first rule. The Speaker decided that, although the House had yesterday decided that they would not then put the main question to rescind, it was still under the operation of the previous question, which must now be put again. I did not appeal from the decision, but observed that I had always understood that the refusal to put the main question *now*, exhausted the previous question, and left the main question debatable. Other members were more refractory than I was. Everett remonstrated. W. Cost Johnson moved to lay the resolution on the table; lost, by yeas and nays—ninety to ninety-one. Then the previous question was again put, and lost—ninety-one to ninety-three. Underwood still contested the decision of the Speaker, who said the subject must lie over till to-morrow; and then the majority will lay the resolution on the table.

Bidlack asked to be excused from voting on that question, and then defined his position. He said he had always voted with the South on this delicate question, and believed he should still, as long as the South held together; but he saw that this day some of the members from Virginia and Kentucky were voting the other way.

The Senate at last formed a quorum this day. The joint committee were dispatched with notice to the President, and Cushing, Chairman of the House Committee, reported that he would send a message forthwith; and it accordingly came in soon after. Cushing moved the printing of ten thousand copies extra; which was carried. The message begins with a double dose of pious gratitude for the continuous health, plenty, and prosperity all over the country; then crows at the conclusion of the treaty with Great Britain, and urges the necessity of further negotiation upon many other points yet unsettled; crows over an adjustment, present and prospective, of the difficulties with Mexico; pleads like a sturdy beggar for the adoption by Congress of the Exchequer plan which he prepared for them and sent them last year; and concludes with a recommendation to Congress to pay back to General Jackson, with interest, the fine imposed upon him by Judge Hall, at New Orleans, in 1815—which occasioned some laughter, as a sop for Cerberus.

Botts asked me seriously if I was ready to help him in his impeachment of Captain Tyler; and Toland showed me a resolution he proposes to offer for an investigation of the causes of the removal of Jonathan Roberts as Collector at Philadelphia.

8th. Morning visit from T. W. Williams, a member of the House from Connecticut, and Joseph F. Randolph, from New Jersey, with Mr. Richards, one of the missionaries to the Sandwich Islands; and a native of those islands, a Secretary of the King—a strong, stout-built man, nearly black as an Ethiopian, but with a European face, and wool for hair. They came from the Sandwich Islands in July last, landed at , in Mexico, traversed the continent to Vera Cruz, and came thence in our war-steamer "Missouri." Haa-lee-lee-o has a commission as Ambassador from the King of the Sandwich Islands to this country, to Great Britain, and to France, and is to assume the character first here or in Europe, at his discretion. Mr. Richards expressed a very earnest desire for conversation with me on this subject, for my advice to the Ambassador, and for letters of recommendation from me to persons of distinction and influence in Europe.

I said I would very cheerfully converse with him, and give

him any advice and assistance in my power, but I had no acquaintance of distinction or influence in Europe.

Mr. Richards said they had visited Mr. Webster and made known to him the object of their mission, which was to obtain an acknowledgment of their independence and of their neutrality; and Mr. Webster had advised them not to make any present movement here, but to commence their diplomatic operations in England. I did not see the wisdom of leaving to Great Britain the option of assuming the islands under her protection, like the Ionian Islands; but I see the motive for Webster's advice, which is that they are black. I promised to see them again on Saturday morning.

At the House, sundry other members took their seats, and Burch told me there were two hundred and nine members of the House in the city. My resolution to rescind the twenty-first rule came up again. Mr. Underwood contested the decision of the Speaker, that the previous question remained in force after the House have refused to take the question now; but the Speaker cited two precedents, one in 1828 and one at the last session, which he thought sustained him; which Everett and Underwood did not admit. Underwood appealed from the decision, but the appeal was laid on the table. John W. Jones moved to lay my resolution on the table; lost—ninety-three to ninety-five; and the House for the third time voted that the main question should not be put now—ninety-five to one hundred.

W. Cost Johnson moved a resolution to rescind the one-hour rule, but his motion was laid on the table—one hundred and sixteen to seventy. The House adjourned over to Monday.

9th. This was a day of leisure, and I had intended to employ it in visiting several of the public Departments; but I left my papers here last September in such a state of utter confusion that one of my indispensable duties since my return has been to find and file them in due order alphabetically month by month from February, when, by the pressure of my trial upon my time, the disorder began, till September, when I left the city. This task will absorb all my leisure till the close of the present year at least. My practice is to file all the letters that

I receive, and each month makes a file as large as can be conveniently kept together; but so worthless is the great mass of my passive correspondence that if the letters having the slightest claim to preservation were sifted from the chaff, one yearly file would more than suffice for the twelve calendar months. Besides these, I have miscellaneous files of newspapers containing articles of special interest, to which I wish occasionally to refer; and all together they form a mass of archives for which I have not chests and boxes and bureaus and drawers sufficient in numbers and capacity to contain them. A separate building for a library of book-cases and receptacles for the safe-keeping of manuscripts has become almost a necessary of life to me; but I have not the means of erecting it. Will it be the good fortune of my son? If it should ever be in his power, I enjoin it upon him as a duty.[1]

I was this morning so long engaged in filing and endorsing letters that dinner-time had come when I had barely finished the record of yesterday. As morning visitors, Messrs. Goggin, Powell, Summers, and Stuart, of Virginia, came together, and afterwards Mr. Sherlock J. Andrews, of Ohio, with Maxwell and Yorke, of New Jersey. Dr. Thomas was also here, to visit my wife and Mrs. John Adams, both of whom are still confined to their chambers and nearly the whole time to their beds. After dinner I took a walk of half an hour, till dusk, for fresh air, and in the evening answered the letter from Messrs. Dunnell and Rodman, of the Franklin Lyceum at Providence, requesting a copy of my lecture on the social compact, for publication. I send the copy as delivered at Boston, considering the objections to the quotation from "Milton's Paradise Lost" as fancies of over-fastidious delicacy. I received also this evening the Hampshire Gazette of 6th December, printed at Northampton, and with it a pamphlet edition of my reception address to my constituents at Braintree on the 17th of September last.

The four members of the House who were overset in the stage coming from Zanesville—Caruthers, Gentry, Wallace, and Lane—arrived here this day, not wholly recovered from

[1] This duty has been fulfilled, but not until twenty-eight years after this date.

their wounds. Smith, the Senator from Indiana, still remains behind.

10th. I took to the General Post Office a petition of Isaac Ellis and fifty-three others for a post-office at South Dedham, with a recommendation of John E. Boyden as the Postmaster. Mr. Wickliffe was at the President's; but the Second Assistant Postmaster-General, Bryant, supposed the petition would be granted. I left with him the recommendatory letter of William Ellis. On my way I met Tillinghast, who was going to my house with a pamphlet copy of the new Constitution of Rhode Island, which I had asked of him, and which he gave me. At the Globe office, I bespoke an entire set of the Congressional Globe, in ten quarto volumes. At the War Office, the Secretary, Spencer, was at the President's; I left with General Parker, the Chief Clerk, applications for cadet warrants for Isaac L. Hedge, Jr., of Plymouth, and James Milner Robinson, of Quincy. I met at the office General Scott and Dr. Knott. At the Navy Department, I saw the Secretary, Upshur, and left with him an application for a midshipman warrant for John C. Bell, of Roxbury. Mr. Upshur said that if Congress should persist in their retrenchments of the navy, of the last session, there could not be a new appointment of a midshipman within thirty years. Mr. Upshur's coldness and crustiness of manner indicated that he keenly felt the strictures that I have made upon the absurd extravagance of his report to the President at the commencement of the last session of Congress, with an estimate exceeding eight millions of dollars for the current year, gravely urging that we must raise a navy at least equal to half that of Great Britain, and then stating that her present naval force was more than eight times more numerous than ours. This, with a bankrupt Treasury, and an imbecile impotence of raising revenue, even for the current expenses of the year, stamped the character of the Administration for economy, in characters indelible; it was equally demonstrative of its insincerity or of its reckless stupidity. I have commented upon it with ample freedom.

Mr. Upshur was peevish in his complaints of the insignificance of the force which we could keep, with the present paltry ap-

propriations, in the Mediterranean, on the coast of Africa, in the East Indian seas, and on the Pacific Ocean.

I said that when the Treasury should be replenished we might be more liberal of appropriations.

He said, that was the affair of Congress. Mr. George Brown, of Beverly, was here—still place-hunting, and now quite willing for the re-election of John Tyler as President, because he would keep Daniel Webster as Secretary of State. Mr. Brown differs in opinion with me upon the annexation of Texas, and is quite enchanted with the prospect of Mr. Waddy Thompson's obtaining from Mexico the cession of California to the United States—news announced in the National Intelligencer of this morning, and countenanced by a paragraph in the President's message.

12th. At the House, my resolution to rescind the twenty-first rule was laid on the table, by yeas and nays—one hundred and six to one hundred and two. Absent, thirty-one; dead, two; Speaker, one: of the thirty-four, nineteen would have voted aye, fifteen no. The vote of the whole House would have been one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and seventeen, or possibly one hundred and twenty-two to one hundred and twenty. The standing committees had been announced—all the same as at the last session, except the cases of members now absent. On the Committee of Foreign Affairs the only change from the close of the last session is of Holmes, in the place of Edward D. White, who is not here. Holmes was one of those who, being of the batch appointed by the Speaker after the majority of members resigned serving on the committee because they could not turn me out as Chairman, requested also to be excused, and was excused, from serving, on the same grounds. I am curious to see whether he will now ask to be excused from serving with me again.

Fillmore, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, now moved general resolutions to refer the several topics of the President's message to the appropriate standing committees; hence a desultory debate. Pickens moved the reference of the whole message to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union; and Cushing proposed to refer the President's Exchequer to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union,

to take it out of the hands of the Committee of Ways and Means, supposed to be hostile to the President. Cushing's proposed amendment failed, by a small majority; and Fillmore's resolutions were all adopted, with an additional one, proposing enquiries about appropriations for internal improvements in the West and on the Lakes. There was some inflammable chaffering about this, and about the recommendation by the President of a bill to refund the fine imposed upon General Jackson, for the exercise of martial law by General Jackson at New Orleans, twenty-seven years ago. Adjourned, at three o'clock.

13th. On overhauling my chaotic files of letters and papers received during the last session, for assortment and endorsement, I found some that I had wasted hours searching for in vain; others that I had not even read—among which, one from William Allen, of Northampton, on the religious opinions of my father, in refutation of a cankered article in an English review of my father's letters published by my son. The reading of this paper took up more than an hour. Its length was the reason of my filing it unread when it was received. The article in the English review is mere venom, which is not worthy of notice from me.

At the House, Fillmore obtained leave for the Committee of Ways and Means to employ a clerk. John M. Botts raised a question of privilege upon a letter from John C. Spencer, Secretary of War, published in the Albany Argus of 25th October, immediately before the recent elections in the State of New York, in defence of John Tyler, and containing base charges against the leaders of the Whig party at the time of the vetoes on the two Bank bills. The amount of the charge is, that between the first and second bank veto the leaders of the Whig party proposed to the President to postpone the bank question to the next session, if he would promise in the mean time not to dismiss any of the members of his then Cabinet; and that Tyler rejected the proposal with scorn. Botts considered this as a charge of corruption against the leaders of the Whig party; and so it was intended by Spencer; but Wise, and Cushing, and Irwin succeeded in slipping through it, by parrying

it as a privileged question, which could be carried by a majority, and then voting for a suspension of the rules, to let it in by a vote of two-thirds, which they knew could not be carried. After a long skirmishing between Botts and Wise, and doubling of corners by the Speaker, the House, by yeas and nays, eighty-five to one hundred and six, refused to receive the resolution as a question of privilege; after which Everett obtained a suspension of the rules to introduce his bill to repeal the Bankrupt Act. Many were clamorous to pass it at once, but it was finally made the special order of the day for next Tuesday. Underwood then moved a suspension of the rules, to introduce Botts's investigating enquiry; vote for which was seventy-eight to one hundred and nine—a majority, but not two-thirds. Some testimony was received, and a squall arose upon a motion of Morgan to refer it to the Committee of Elections; in the midst of which, the House adjourned.

16th. The assortment and filing and endorsement of my papers in monthly files of my letters received from last March till September, yet absorb all my leisure time, and the unassorted papers are yet in so many heaps that I do but just begin to see my way clear out of the tangle. In the mean time, every day brings new trashy materials for large files of the present session. I am, however, the first time for six years, relieved from the burden of unreceivable petitions. The Speaker decided that the mode of receiving petitions adopted upon a resolution offered by me at the last session is yet in force; by this, and the practice of the Speaker under it, every member not only introduces any and every petition that he pleases, but has it referred to any committee that he thinks appropriate. I had ten petitions which I should have presented, if the States had been called; but, after the Speaker's present decision, I made out the list, directed the committee to which each of them should be referred, and gave the list, after it was entered on the journal of the House, to Mr. Gales, to be published in the National Intelligencer, and it was published in the paper of this day. The Speaker's decision was, I believe, unauthorized, and the chance is that it will terminate in an explosion.

19th. Robert C. Winthrop consulted me about what he

should do with a memorial which he has received, signed by a large number of the most respectable and distinguished citizens of Boston, remonstrating against the unconstitutional and oppressive laws of some of the Southern States against free colored citizens of Massachusetts. He proposed, according to the rule of the last session, which the Speaker has declared to be in force, to enter the memorial at the Clerk's table, and have it referred to the Judiciary Committee for a report—and thereupon to raise a debate if possible.

I approved this course.

He said he had a copy of the memorial addressed to the Senate, with instructions to ask George Evans, of Maine, to present it, and not either of the Massachusetts Senators—a similar memorial having at the last session been intrusted to Mr. Choate and totally neglected.

21st. The Bankrupt Act Repeal bill was now taken up. Cushing, who bristles upon everything, prevailed upon Pickens to withdraw his motion for the previous question, for him (Cushing) to propose an amendment; on failure of which he pledged himself to renew the motion for the previous question. Pickens accordingly withdrew his motion. Cushing then moved his amendment; to which Barnard, moved again, added his own. Cushing would not assent to this, and so renewed Pickens's motion for the previous question, and the whole debate was again opened. Then Underwood, Hopkins, Briggs, Cave Johnson, Wise, Charles Ingersoll, and Charles Brown followed each other alternately, for instantaneous repeal, and for reference to the Judiciary Committee, with various instructions; till Arnold closed with an hour speech against the repeal altogether, and he launched out into a vehement and unmeasured invective upon the Administration, especially upon the President and upon Daniel Webster, whose enquiry in his Faneuil Hall speech, "What will you do with me?" he most unmercifully scourged.

When he was cropped by the expiration of his hour, Saltonstall took the floor, and moved to adjourn; which was carried. Saltonstall said to me, "I suppose they will expect I shall defend Webster; but I will not; I thought it would be as well to leave that to Cushing."

23d. I read a pamphlet entitled "Martial Law," by a Kentuckian, in four numbers of re-publication from a Kentucky newspaper. Its author is said to be a man named Nicholas, of the old Virginian family of that name, and is, or has been, a Judge in the State of Kentucky. In the form of a dissertation upon martial law, it is a violent invective against General Jackson for declaring martial law at New Orleans, which he contends was treason against the United States; then against me for having asserted in the House of Representatives that by the same martial law which Jackson declared at New Orleans he might have emancipated all the slaves in Louisiana. The Senators Buchanan and Berrien come in for a share of his abuse. The Legislature of Rhode Island, and the minority of the Judiciary Committee of the House, in their report on the bill for refunding Jackson's fine, have also their share. But the motive at the bottom of it all is the panic terror at my exposure of the danger to Southern slavery of eventual emancipation by martial law.

I went into the Senate, and gave Mr. Bates a list of seven of the bills which had passed the House, requesting the attention of the Massachusetts Senators to them while before the Senate; which he promised to do. I had some conversation with Mr. Buchanan about the Kentucky pamphlet, which seemed to have startled him.

27th. At the House, after the usual half-hour of interloping petitions and resolutions, and notices of bills, Wise presented a resolution of the Legislature of Virginia instructing their Senators and requesting their Representatives to hurry through the passage of the bill to refund to General Jackson the fine imposed on him by Judge Hall at New Orleans in 1815. Wise struggled hard in presenting this resolution to tack upon it a blazing speech; but it was choked off by objections from various quarters.

Everett's Bankrupt Law repeal came up, and Saltonstall delivered a grave, eloquent hour speech against the repeal. Dawson, of Louisiana, followed him in a short speech on the same side—appropriate, decent, in humanized language; specially remarkable from the quarter whence it issued. But next came

from Cushing one of the most extraordinary speeches ever delivered in that hall—in obscure, ambiguous language, conveying ideas veiled and shaded, as if purposely intended to be disavowed if they should happen to be too well understood; but holding up the Presidential power, and especially the veto, at auction between the two great parties which divide the country.

As he closed, Thompson, of Indiana, took the floor, the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

29th. Pickens presented resolutions of the Legislature of South Carolina calling on Congress to refund the fines imposed on Thomas Cooper and on Andrew Jackson. Everett presented a memorial of fifty-seven members of the Legislature of New Hampshire praying Congress to lay out the State in Congressional districts. He moved that it be referred to the Committee of Elections, and printed. Atherton made a speech against it, and Campbell, of South Carolina, moved to lay it on the table; but Everett's motion prevailed.

When the bill to repeal the Bankrupt Act was taken up, Wise, with a flourish of trumpets, made his hour speech, full of his usual portion of pompous bluster and sneaking mystification. He then asked for another hour, and actually moved a suspension of the hour rule to obtain it; and, what with weasel malignity and dastardly whiggery, there was a vote by yeas and nays of one hundred to eighty to grant him the privilege. As he could not obtain two-thirds, he failed in his insolent pretension.

Fessenden, of Maine, closed the debate for the day with an hour speech—sensible, spirited, modest, moderate, all but sufficiently caustic upon the abandoned profligacy of Cushing's speech. Thomas F. Marshall took the floor, and the House adjourned.

William Cost Johnson had come to my seat, and, giving me a printed copy of his address to his constituents on the debts of the States, asked me to read it, and then say if I would be willing to serve on his select committee of nine. At present all my efforts are required to keep myself as much as possible aloof from all the debates in the House.

31st. The Ambassador from the Sandwich Islands called this

morning and took leave of me. Mr. Richards read the official answer of the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, to their communication asking for the recognition of their Government as a sovereign, independent State, and proposing to negotiate a commercial treaty. The answer, in language not very explicit, evades a direct acknowledgment, and declines the negotiation of a treaty, but argues the right of the Sandwich Islands to be recognized as an independent State, and against the right of any European power to colonize or take possession of them.

Mr. Richards said that Mr. Webster had been more explicit with them in verbal conference, and had told them that the whole subject of their transactions with him would be immediately communicated to Congress. Accordingly, a message from the President was received, and presented by the Speaker to the House, recommending an appropriation for maintaining a Consul at the Sandwich Islands, and another for a formal mission to China, which, at the motion of Mr. Cushing, was ordered to be printed and referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. The message, evidently Webster's composition, contains an elaborate and able argument for the recognition of the Sandwich Islands Government and for the mission to China.

January 2d, 1843.—Morning absorbed in reading the newspapers of the last night's mail and the Globe of Saturday evening upon my table. It contains the speeches of John C. Calhoun in the Senate of the United States last August, in favor of advising and consenting to the ratification of the Webster and Ashburton Treaty. Calhoun is the high-priest of Moloch—the embodied spirit of slavery. He has resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States, to take effect from the close of the present Congress, the 3d of March next, and immediately upon the acceptance of his resignation by the Legislature of South Carolina they unanimously nominated him as a candidate for election as President of the United States for four years from the 4th of March, 1845. His speech is remarkable for one of those glaring, unblushing, dare-devil inconsistencies which, as far as I know, are peculiar to the doctrinal school of slavery. He begins by a broad, explicit, and unqualified declaration

that he has always believed the claim of Maine upon the North-eastern boundary question just, and then proceeds with an elaborate argument to prove that on that same identical boundary question the title of Great Britain is clear to more than she has ever claimed. On the subject of slavery and the slave-trade the negotiation itself was a Scapinade, a struggle between the Plenipotentiaries to outwit each other and to circumvent both countries by a slippery compromise between freedom and slavery. Calhoun crows about his success in imposing his own bastard law of nations upon the Senate by his preposterous resolutions, and chuckles at Webster's appealing to those resolutions now, after dodging from the duty of refuting and confounding them then. Calhoun concludes, upon the whole, to put up with the ticklish truce patched up between the treaty and the correspondence; and this was what, in fact, reconciled him to the ratification. There is a temperance in his manner obviously aiming to conciliate the Northern political sopranos, who abhor slavery and help to forge fetters for the slave.

My wife is still confined to her bed, and was more unwell this day than yesterday. There were, however, none the less of female visitors, who were well received by Mrs. John Adams. Our late Minister to France, Lewis Cass, was among them, and told me that shortly before he left France he had a conversation with *my old friend the King* concerning me, which he wished to tell me, and he was beginning to do so, when other visitors came up and interrupted him. He said he would call again some evening and tell me. They say the crowd at the President's this day was unexampled. I did not go out.

3d. Mr. Kurtz and Mr. Barcroft, of Georgetown, called on me this morning and stated that they were members of the Society of Friends, and Mr. Kurtz had a letter from Philadelphia recommending Mrs. Lucretia Mott, who is desirous of obtaining the use of the hall of the House of Representatives for a religious exercise; and, without coming directly to the point, Mr. Kurtz gave me to understand that it was desired that I should make the motion in the House that she might have the use of the hall.

I desired Mr. Kurtz to say to Mrs. Mott that I remembered

with much pleasure the hospitality which I had once, some years since, enjoyed at her house, and the social intercourse with which I had at other times been favored by her husband and other friends; that I should be happy to see her at my house, and, if she desired it, would make the motion in the House that she should have the use of the hall. But I observed to Mr. Kurtz that Mrs. Mott was known as a distinguished abolitionist of slavery; that there was little difference between her opinions upon the subject of slavery and mine; but he knew how obnoxious I was here, both in and out of Congress, for that very thing; and he would consider whether the application for the use of the hall would not be more likely to succeed if made by another member. I added that Speaker White told me last Saturday that application had been made to him for the use of the hall by Mrs. Mott, and that he had granted it. Mr. Kurtz thought as I did, that if there should be a necessity for asking the leave of the House for the use of the hall, it would be more likely to succeed if moved by some other member than by me, and said he would deliver faithfully my message to Mrs. Mott.

4th. At the House, Bowne's resolution to instruct the Committee on the Judiciary to report a prescribed bill to refund General Jackson's fine, with interest, to-morrow, was debated through the morning hour; a motion to lay it on the table having been lost by yeas and nays—ninety-one to one hundred and seven. There is already a bill on the calendar, reported by the Judiciary Committee at the last session, and referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union; but Bowne wants to signalize himself by the combustion of his zeal for the old hero. This has got to be a mere party football, and Bowne is attempting to carry the measure by storm, and it is quite probable he will succeed.

The Speaker, against all principle, deciding that Bowne's motion to instruct the Judiciary Committee to report another bill, while there is already one reported by the same committee, now in committee of the whole upon the state of the Union, was in order, has prostrated all rule upon the subject; and a succession of previous questions, stifling all discussion of the

principles involved in the bill, is probably the only way by which it can be carried. The expiration of the hour, however, put off the decision again for this day, and Bowne took the floor again for the immediate repeal of the Bankrupt law. He was followed by Meriwether, he by Pickens, and he by Proffit, with intermediate interruptions, and defiances of Cushing, till half-past three o'clock, when Gordon took the floor, and the House adjourned.

Cushing's national venom was ransacked and held up to scorn by Meriwether and Pickens, notwithstanding his vehement disclaimers and challenges for specifications.

Proffit did all he could to help him out of his troubles, and piteously implored the House to allow Cushing an hour to explain the real meaning of his speech; but it was too barefaced and flagrant, and if he had an hour for explanation he would need a week to explain the explanation itself.

5th. At the House this morning, John Campbell, of South Carolina, upon leave introduced a bill to suspend the operation of the second section of the Apportionment bill (the second, which prescribes the elections by single districts) in all elections for the Twenty-Eighth Congress. Campbell is the man who introduced that section into the bill itself. He now flinches from his own purpose. His bill was read twice; he wanted to pass it at once, but Barnard moved its reference to the Committee of Elections, and Briggs, that it should be printed—which was carried.

Halsted introduced, on leave and after notice, the bill to regulate the taking of testimony in cases of contested elections, and for other purposes, which passed both Houses at the last session and was pocketed by the President. It was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

Everett entreated the House to take up and act upon his Bankrupt Repeal bill. But Gwin insisted upon taking up Bowne's resolution to instruct the Judiciary Committee to report this day the bill first introduced into the Senate on the 10th of last March, by Dr. Linn, of Missouri. Barnard had moved an amendment to instruct the committee to report the facts and principles of the case, and Arnold had moved to refer

the resolution to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Gwin's speech was a rancorous and malignant party invective upon the Whigs, for a sneaking desire to give the bill the go-by, and spurring them to take it into consideration. Cushing made a bombastic speech about the glories of the victory of New Orleans; and, in order to pass the bill in anticipation of the anniversary, which will be on Sunday, he moved that all debate should cease on the bill in committee of the whole to-morrow at two o'clock, and the questions be taken on the bill and amendments.

The Speaker decided the motion to be not in order, the bill in committee of the whole not having been debated at all. I then rose, and addressed the Speaker. Cushing, who had moved the previous question, claimed to hold the floor against me for another motion; but the Speaker told him he could not have the floor on two motions at once. I spoke about half an hour, till the expiration of the morning hour.

6th. It was the day before yesterday that Mr. Parker called on me and announced himself as the agent of the bond-holders of the debts of the several States of this Union, and he came here to solicit the interposition of the Government to enforce the punctuality of the States in the payment of their debts, interest and principal. And he asked my opinion as to the right of the bond-holders to demand this interposition, and as to the duty of the Federal Government to extend it.

I told him that I had no doubt on either point; that the bond-holders have the right to demand, and the duty of the Federal Government is to grant their interposition to compel the States to pay their honest debts; but that the President of the United States held a different opinion, and that he had nothing to do with the debts of the States, and that a vast majority of both Houses of Congress held in this respect the same opinion as the President; that, of course, nothing will or can be done at present here on the subject, and I therefore shall attempt nothing, having repeatedly expressed my opinion as to the result.

7th. I sit up so late at night, reading the newspapers and letters which come by the mail from nine to ten in the evening,

that I seldom reach my bed before midnight—which necessarily delays for two hours at least that of my rising. "Sex horas somno," says Lord Coke, quoting from I know not whom; and that has been for more than forty years my rule of life; and the six hours are from ten at night to four in the morning. But the rule of life must be modified by external causes, and by social relations with others. If I sit up till midnight, I cannot rise before six, and that irregularity leads to the laxity of the rule itself, to indulging in morning laziness, encroaching upon the best hours of the day.

Lieutenant Wilkes was here this morning, extremely solicitous about his promotion. A law of the last session of Congress limits the number of officers of each rank in the navy that may be appointed, and that number is full. On the list of lieutenants there are only four senior to Mr. Wilkes, and the appointment of him as a commander would require the appointment of those also to the same rank. Mr. Barnard has been preparing a resolution to repeal the restriction upon the number of officers, so as to allow the appointment of five more commanders than are now commissioned; and he and Mr. Wilkes are urgent with me to offer the resolution, which I have consented to do, though I told Mr. Barnard that I could seldom consent to offer a resolution prepared by any other than myself. At the House, after the interloping intrusions, one of which was Arnold's attempt to get up his Retrenchment bill No. 568, Bowne's resolution to instruct the Judiciary Committee to report, last Thursday, Linn's bill to refund, with interest from March, 1815, General Jackson's fine, with my amendment yesterday proposed, came up, and Charles J. Ingersoll was delivered of his long-treasured philippic upon mean glorification of himself and of Jackson. He spoke till the close of his hour, and then, by a suspension of the rules, a half-hour more, to vent the whole volume of his spleen upon me. When he closed, half a dozen members started up for the floor, which the Speaker gave to William O. Butler, of Kentucky, who was one of Jackson's aides at New Orleans. But the House passed to the consideration of private business till the adjournment.

9th. Before going to the House this morning, I called on the

Secretary of State at his office, to confer with him upon the message of the President relating to the Sandwich Islands and to China, referred by the House to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and by them to me. Mr. Webster referred me to the correspondence between the Commissioners from the Sandwich Islands, Richards and Haa-lee-lee-o, and himself, for the views of the Administration favorable to the recognition of the Government of those Islands; with which I concurred. I concurred also with the recommendations of the message respecting the expediency of instituting a diplomatic mission to China, but enquired what was the amount of the appropriation desired for both objects.

Mr. Webster thought a salaried Consul, like those maintained at the Barbary States, would require about three thousand dollars; and, after some conversation on the probable details of expenditure, he thought an appropriation of four thousand dollars would be adequate for the mission to China. He said he would send me an estimate in the course of the day, together with a dispatch from Edward Everett containing some indications of the present views of the British Government concerning their intercourse with China. He accordingly sent me the papers in the course of the day to the House.

This conference delayed me, so that the House had been a quarter of an hour in session when I reached my seat. I found new game was started. Cushing was vaporing against the Committee of Ways and Means, from which Fillmore, the Chairman, had reported a unanimous resolution that the Exchequer plan reported by the Secretary of the Treasury (Forward) at the last session, and recommended by the President, ought *not* to be adopted (Webster's). Cushing insisted that the committee should have reported a positive measure. The minority of the committee, consisting of Atherton and Pickens, did report an amendment instructing the committee to report a positive bill—in substance the Sub-Treasury. Here was a perfect snarl, which brought out, after Cushing, Everett, Arnold, Pickens, Wise, W. Cost Johnson, Botts, Fillmore, Granger, Joseph R. Ingersoll, Turney, John Campbell, Thomas F. Marshall, and at last Proffit, who only took the floor.

Irwin moved to adjourn, and refused to withdraw it merely to take the question on printing the reports. Fillmore called the yeas and nays on the adjournment, and Irwin, finding the vote going against him, withdrew his motion till the question to print was taken and carried. Botts had given notice that he would to-morrow move his charges for the impeachment of President Tyler.

11th. I spent four hours of last evening in a running perusal of the trial of James H. Peck, Judge of the United States District Court in Missouri, for punishing by imprisonment and suspension from practice a lawyer named Luke Edward Lawless, for a contempt, by publishing in a newspaper a critical review of an opinion delivered by the Judge, and also published in a newspaper. I found in it a uniform series of opinions as to the power of Judicial Courts to punish for contempt, directly in the face of the position assumed by Charles J. Ingersoll, that Judicial Courts have no lawful power to punish for contempt.

The committees were called, and the Jackson fine was taken up. William O. Butler, of Kentucky, one of Jackson's aides in the New Orleans campaign, and perhaps the most distinguished member from Kentucky now in the House, discoursed nearly an hour and a half in glorification of Jackson, and in malignant slander upon me. When the morning hour closed, the Speaker's hammer fell; but Mr. Butler wanted more time, and the Speaker said that by general consent he might have it. No objection was made, and he went on till he had emitted all his venom upon me.

When I spoke the other day, I was allowed only two half-hours upon two totally distinct questions; and when I claimed a full hour upon the amendment proposed by myself, it was denied. Winthrop insisted on my right, but it was of no avail. But Ingersoll and Butler have been allowed each an extra half-hour for the pleasure of reviling me.

12th. General Cass came in last evening after dinner at Mr. Webster's, and told me what he had spoken of at my house on the 2d of this month. General Cass said that shortly before he left France, the King, Louis Philippe, asked him what in

nature had got into Mr. Adams, with whom he recollected to have formed a very pleasing acquaintance in England, and whom he had ever since considered as a friend. Mr. Cass said he was surprised, and asked the King to what he alluded. "Why," says Louis Philippe, "he denies my title." The general said he knew not what to say in reply.

I told him that in a lecture delivered before a literary society, speaking of the dangerous and convulsed condition of Europe, and referring to France, I said that its King held his crown neither by the monarchical title of hereditary succession, nor by the republican title of popular election; but I spoke it as of an historical fact, without evil intention to him, and without imagining that it would have been remembered by any one the next day.

"Well," said Mr. Cass, "but it was *true*."

This morning Dr. Mayo called here with a couple of pamphlets, one of which was the "War in Texas," and of which he asked me if I knew the author, and I told him it was the late Benjamin Lundy. The other was a publication of the recent correspondence between this and the Mexican Government—published by the Mexican Minister here.

13th. Mr. Leavitt was here this morning, and read to me an article which he has prepared to publish in the Emancipator, explanatory of the charge by him in a former number of that paper against members of not having supported me upon my trial. Six of the members of the delegation, Briggs, Hudson, Burnell, Winthrop, Baker, and Saltonstall, with a concurring signature of Calhoun, have written me a letter requesting me to furnish a statement relative to their votes on the motions to lay the resolutions on the table, to repel the imputation in the Emancipator that they did not support me.

At the House, Weller presented resolutions of the Legislature of Ohio demanding the repeal of the Bankrupt law. Wise presented a memorial from the city and county of Baltimore praying Congress to pass the Exchequer bill recommended by the President, and he moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, with a view to take up that bill; lost, by yeas and nays, fifty-three to one hundred and twenty-eight;

and that vote was an index to the present condition of Wise's influence in the House.

Everett moved to suspend the rules to take up his Bankrupt Repeal law. Yeas and nays, one hundred and nineteen to seventy; lost for want of two-thirds.

The joint resolution from the Senate proposing a new rule to abridge the right of petition. Parmenter opposed it, to my surprise, for he had yesterday voted against laying it on the table. Giddings, equally to my surprise, supported it. He is Chairman of the Committee of Claims, much annoyed by their multitude, and does not see the lurking stab to the right of petition. I made a short speech against it, on several grounds, and, to my astonishment, Holmes, of South Carolina, declared he had been convinced by me, and strenuously opposed it. Botts moved one amendment, and Stanly another, the last clearly not in order, but the Speaker decided that it was. Both the amendments were carried, but the resolution itself, as amended, was rejected, by yeas and nays—ninety-five to one hundred and three.

14th. A black man, named Moses Bell, came this morning, and sent me a paper narrative of gross personal abuse by whipping and *cobbing*, with which he has been treated by a white man claiming him as a slave. In March, 1841, Bell sued the white man, named Rhodes, in the Circuit Court, for his freedom. The trial was procrastinated about eighteen months, till last August. On the 20th of August he was adjudged, on the special verdict of a white jury, to be free. From this sentence Rhodes appealed to the United States Supreme Court, now in session. Mr. Hoban and Mr. Wallach have been Bell's lawyers in the Circuit Court, and he said he had been advised to apply to me to assist him in the Supreme Court. I promised to do for him what I could.

At the House, the day being devoted to the consideration of private business, numerous interloping resolutions were palmed upon the House and the committees—a most disorderly and mischievous practice, which has grown out of the twenty-first rule. Hiram Hunt made a silly hour speech upon Bowne's fine-refunding resolution and my amendment.

The bill for the relief of the heirs of Philip Renault was, at the request of Mr. Moore, of Louisiana, postponed till next Friday, as was also desired by me.

A bill for the relief of the inhabitants of West Florida was opposed in a spirited speech by Mr. Giddings, and supported with so much overbearing insolence by Black, of Georgia, reinforced by the squeaking of the Jew delegate from Florida, Levy, that I was provoked to speak, and moved to adjourn; which was carried, though Levy had moved the previous question.

15th. I attended public worship in the hall of the House of Representatives, where Mr. Tustin, the Chaplain of the Senate, preached from Daniel v. 27: "TEKEL; thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting." This is a formidable text for a preacher to manage, and especially for a Chaplain to a House of Congress. It is in itself the key to a discourse of keen and searching reproof to the auditory. It is the solemn duty of a Christian clergyman to administer reproof to his hearers, and it is the duty of the hearers to listen to reproof without taking offence. This is the great practical obstacle to the faithful and useful discharge of the preacher's duty. If he probes the sinner to the soul, he kindles hatred against himself and loses his hold upon the conscience. If he forbears, he neglects his holiest duty, and betrays the cause of his Master. When Louis the Fourteenth told Massillon that he had often admired the splendid eloquence of other preachers, but that *he* always made him discontented with himself, he testified to the admirable address, as well as the rare virtue, of the Bishop of Clermont. Read his "Petit Carême," preached before Louis the Fifteenth in his childhood, and during the regency of the profligate Duke of Orleans, and you will see the consummate art with which the pulpit orator had reproved without offending, and made the vainglorious, royal sinner ashamed of himself without incurring his displeasure. Mr. Tustin told us all that we had been weighed in the balances and found wanting. But this is reproach, and not reproof, like the wild-goose satire of Jaques—flying unclaimed of any man.

16th. At the House, it was the day for offering resolutions,

and no sooner did the Speaker name the State of Maine than Clifford started with a resolution to instruct the Committee on the Judiciary to report forthwith the following bill: "Be it enacted, etc., that the Bankrupt Act, etc., be and the same is hereby repealed." There was a bill already in committee of the whole on the state of the Union reported by the same Judiciary Committee. Nothing can be more explicit than the rule of the House that forbids this duplication of bills on the same subject. Objection was made by Barnard to the reception of Clifford's resolution, and the rule was cited; but the Speaker decided that Clifford was in order, and he moved the previous question. This petty by-play to overreach one another by a war of posts on points of order, which would disgrace a Court of pie-powder, is the ordinary practice of all the leading members of the House. A motion was made to lay Clifford's resolution on the table; lost, by yeas and nays, eighty-one to one hundred and ten. The motion for the previous question was seconded by tellers—ninety to seventy-nine—and carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and sixteen to eighty-eight. The resolution itself was carried—one hundred and twenty-eight to seventy-eight.

Then Barnard referred to the rule of the House that committees cannot sit while the House is in session without a special order of leave. Wise moved a resolution that the committee have leave to sit during the session of the House, to bring in the bill. Barnard objected that this motion was not in order; and the Speaker so decided. Wise appealed, and his appeal was laid on the table—one hundred and four to ninety-one.

The Speaker called Maine again for resolutions, and Lowell offered again the resolution which had slumped in the hand of Wise. Motion to lay it on the table lost, by yeas and nays—eighty-seven to one hundred and five. Main question ordered—one hundred and sixteen to eighty-eight. Resolution carried—one hundred and twenty-eight to seventy-eight. Barnard went out, and soon returned. No quorum of the committee had been formed, and no bill was reported.

Fessenden, for Toland, moved a resolution of enquiry of the Secretary of the Treasury concerning the removal of Jonathan

Roberts as Collector of the Customs at Philadelphia; yeas and nays, one hundred and three to seventy-six—not two-thirds. Resolution lost.

Tillinghast offered a proviso to the Bankrupt Repeal bill, which was finally carried.

17th. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. I was tardy fifteen minutes. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger, Stuart, Meriwether, Shepperd, Caruthers, and Holmes —the whole committee. I read the letter from Mr. Webster to me, proposing the appropriation, and the part of the dispatch from Edward Everett of 29th November, 1842, relating to China. I mentioned that I had begun, but not finished, a report, and would read to them what I had written, or ask them for time till the next meeting to finish it.

They took up Cushing's bill of appropriations for carrying into execution the Ashburton Treaty. He wished, and had expressed the wish to me in a conversation at my seat last Saturday after the adjournment of the House, to present an argumentative report in defence of the treaty, and particularly of the article stipulating for the squadron of eighty guns to be kept on the coast of Africa. There was some objection in committee to his making the report, because it must be debatable in committee, and must occasion delay. Meriwether's motion to add a section with a specific appropriation for the African squadron was rejected, but Everett renewed it in another form. Further consideration postponed to the next meeting, fixed for Thursday morning, the 19th, at eleven.

At the House, I have no room for details, but nearly the whole day was consumed, like yesterday, in trapping with yeas and nays for the repeal of the Bankrupt Act. The first and second bills were so jumbled together that inextricable confusion was the result. T. F. Marshall, instead of making a speech, moved the previous question upon Everett's bill, with Cushing's amendment; which were at last carried by yeas and nays—one hundred and forty to seventy-one.

19th. I finished this morning the report from the Committee of Foreign Affairs, to accompany two bills in compliance with the message of the President of the United States, relating to

the Sandwich Islands and China. Then attended the meeting of the committee. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger, Stuart, Meriwether, Caruthers, Holmes; absent, Shepperd. Cushing's bill to carry into execution the Ashburton Treaty was amended by an additional section, requiring that the cost of the stipulated squadron on the coast of Africa should be paid from the annual naval appropriations. By a report from the Secretary of the Navy, in answer to a resolution of the Senate, his estimate of the cost of the African squadron is four hundred and forty thousand dollars for the vessels, forty thousand dollars for repairs, wear and tear, and two hundred and forty thousand dollars a year for maintaining it—half a million of first cost; and three hundred thousand dollars a year for the five years stipulated will fall short of the real cost.

Mr. Cushing repeated his wish to prepare a report in justification of the treaty, with the bill. There was some reluctance in the committee, from apprehension of delay and perhaps final dissent of a majority of the committee; but I urged the fair claim of the treaty to be defended by a report, and Mr. Cushing was authorized to prepare one.

I read my report on the Sandwich Island and China message, and was authorized to present it to the House with an amendment suggested by Mr. Everett. The bills are not yet prepared. The committee adjourned to next Tuesday.

In the House, after the usual quantity of miscellaneous trifles, Cushing, in the process of the call of the committees, reported the bill of appropriations for carrying into execution the Ashburton Treaty, and bustled about with explanations speech-like to attract notice. The bill was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

The Jackson fine resolution, offered by Bowne, with Barnard's amendment and mine, the immediate question in debate, came up next. Hiram P. Hunt finished his speech, and, dealing this day only with C. J. Ingersoll's preposterous pretension that the Courts of law have no power to punish summarily for contempt, completely demolished it. The morning hour expired, and Botts took the floor for the next debatable day. And now came Proffit's motion to reconsider the repeal of the Bankrupt

law—made to give Cushing an hour for reply. He took the hour, and made his case worse by his use of it. He assailed furiously Fessenden, and Thompson, of Indiana, who had severely handled him. Fessenden replied gently, but keenly. Thompson agonized to get the floor, but failed. Garret Davis and Thomas F. Marshall followed, each an hour, till near five o'clock.

20th. At the House, on the call for reports from committees, Robert C. Winthrop, from the Committee of Commerce, presented a report on the memorial of Benjamin Rich and others, of Boston, remonstrating against the practice of imprisoning colored mariners in South Carolina and other Southern States; which report, he said, was agreed to by seven out of the nine members of the committee; that of the two others, Mr. Rayner, of North Carolina, had prepared a minority report, and the Chairman of the committee, John P. Kennedy, dissenting from both reports, would probably present his views separately. Winthrop's report closed with several resolutions; which were read. He moved that both reports be printed and laid on the table for consideration hereafter; and, to avoid debate, called for the previous question.

The slave representation were instantly in a flame. Rayner's report closed with a resolution that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the subject. Kennedy moved that five thousand copies of both reports be printed. Jacob Thompson objected, and Kennedy withdrew his motion; but Rayner himself renewed it. By the rule of the House, the motion must lie over one day. Black, of Georgia, objected to the printing of the majority report at all, and moved to lay the motion to print on the table; lost, by yeas and nays—seventy-two to one hundred and fourteen. Fillmore moved to cease debate and take the question on the Army Appropriation bill to-morrow at two o'clock; lost. Private bills till the adjournment.

21st. At the House, on the call for reports from committees, several of them were upon subjects of deep interest, but of which little notice was taken, owing to the transcendent influence of the slave representation. Cave Johnson, with the aid

of Gilmer and of Granger, drove through a bill prohibiting any extra allowance to any public officer for any service whatever. I spoke against it, and so did Joseph R. Ingersoll and Holmes; but it was carried by yeas and nays—one hundred and fifty-one to fifteen. Arnold moved a reconsideration, and struggled hard to get in his bill 548 by way of amendment, but failed. Rayner's motion to print five thousand extra copies of the two reports from the Committee of Commerce on the imprisonment of Southern colored seamen in South Carolina was called up by me, and adopted without opposition. Rayner himself was not in the House.

The bill for the relief of the inhabitants of West Florida came up. I spoke about half an hour against it, and concluded by moving to lay it on the table. Levy, the delegate, asked me to withdraw the motion, to give him the opportunity of reply. I withdrew the motion, and the House adjourned.

23d. At the House, Fillmore, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, read an editorial article in the New York Union, the Tyler paper there, and a letter from New York in the Madisonian of this morning, charging the Committee of Ways and Means with having reported against the Tyler-Webster Exchequer, contrary to the opinion and disposition of the moderate Whigs and Democrats, which was sufficient to have passed the Exchequer, but for a caucus held the night before, at which a letter from Henry Clay was read, forbidding the passage of any bill for settling the currency and restoring the credit of the country. Fillmore declared the whole statement an absolute falsehood; and he called upon every member of the House, and particularly upon every member of the guard, if he knew of any such caucus, to declare it in his place.

Wise took the call to himself, and ferociously demanded if Fillmore meant to insinuate that *he* knew anything of the articles in the Union and Madisonian. Fillmore disclaimed, and Wise said he did know of a caucus last summer which did send a deputy to Mr. Tyler to accommodate the President with a fiscal corporation instead of a bank.

24th. I attended the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Granger, Stuart, Caruthers, Shep-

perd, Meriwether; and absent, Cushing, Everett, and Holmes. I presented two bills of appropriations—for the compensation of a Consul or Commissioner to the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands, three thousand dollars, and the other of forty thousand dollars to enable the President of the United States to establish the future commercial relations of the United States with China on terms of equal reciprocity. I was authorized by the unanimous vote of the members present to report to the House the two bills as I had prepared them—which I did on the call of the committees for reports. The bills were read twice, referred to the committee of the whole House on the state of the Union, and, with the report, ordered to be printed.

In committee, Granger made a verbal report on the claim of Commodore Ridgely that two members thought it should not only be rejected, but that a report should be made to the House exposing the conduct of the Commodore to severe censure for daring to present such a claim. I prevailed on the majority, however, to consent to a simple report that Commodore Ridgely have leave to withdraw his petition.

In the House, William Russell, of Ohio, offered a resolution that the hour of meeting of the House after next Monday should be eleven o'clock, till further orders. Barnard objected. Russell moved a suspension of the rules; but the Speaker declared that not in order. Russell shook his finger at Barnard, and said, "I'll mark you." Botts made his hour speech against the bill to refund the Jackson fine. Moore, of Louisiana, took the floor on that question for to-morrow. Cushing made his hour speech against the Committee of Ways and Means, and the Whigs, for rejecting the Tyler-Webster Exchequer.

25th. John Davies, a colored man, came this morning with a letter from himself to me, asking my advice in behalf of his wife's son, named Joseph Clark, sold some years since by Mrs. Hellen to some one, who sold him to the Senator Berrien, who sold him to a Colonel Curry, an agent or sub-agent employed in the removal of the Cherokee Indians. Curry took him to the State of Arkansas, employed him as an interpreter, and promised him his freedom. Curry afterwards died, and by his will declared Clark *free* after three years' service to his brother.

The rascal brother sold him for nine hundred dollars, and he is now in irredeemable slavery for life. The mother of this poor man, "Jenny," lived some time with us, and at her instance her husband, Davies, came to ask my advice what can be done for him. But he has neither means to sue for his freedom nor evidence to prove the will. He is now living with a Dr. Davis Flint, Cherokee Nation, and acting as interpreter. Can I not possibly do something for this man?

I called a second time at the Treasury Department, and enquired of Mr. McClintock Young, the Chief Clerk, the amount paid to certain inhabitants of East Florida under the Act of 1834, and the amount claimed by the inhabitants of West Florida, and for which the bill now before the House is intended to provide.

Mr. Young said there would not be time to the end of this session of Congress to report upon such an enquiry, but he showed me the papers of one claim on Amelia Island upon which between five and six thousand dollars have been allowed and paid—a mere transient glance at which opened to me a dungeon of fraud and swindling claims.

At the House, Fillmore, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, succeeded in screwing at once into consideration the resolution against the Tyler-Webster-Forward Exchequer bill. Three one-hour speeches were successively delivered by D. D. Barnard, R. C. Winthrop, and T. F. Marshall, all of the highest order of eloquence, though with irreconcilable dissent of opinions. Pendleton took the floor at the adjournment. The House was nearly deserted during great part of Barnard's and Winthrop's speeches by members slinking away to hear the new Senator from South Carolina, McDuffie.

26th. At the House, this morning, the Speaker announced the select committee on the resolution moved on the by W. Cost Johnson, to consider the memorials calling on Congress to make some provision for relief to the States from the embarrassment of their debts. The committee are William Cost Johnson, of Maryland, Meredith P. Gentry, of Tennessee, J. Q. Adams, of Massachusetts, Calvary Morris, of Ohio, Zadok Casey, of Illinois, James Cooper, of Pennsylvania, Thomas F.

Marshall, of Kentucky, Jacob M. Howard, of Michigan, and James H. Cravens, of Indiana. Johnson came to my seat and told me that he had given in my name to the Speaker on the motion of John P. Kennedy, Chairman of the Committee of Commerce.

Tuesday, the 7th of February, was specially assigned for the consideration of a joint resolution concerning reciprocity treaties. Kennedy reported, also, a bill to establish a warehousing system, with a report, of which he moved that an extra number of five thousand copies should be printed. Cave Johnson objected, but, at the earnest entreaty of Kennedy, withdrew his objection. Payne, of Alabama, has the floor on the Jackson fine resolution, but he has two days successively allowed it to be overridden.

Fillmore moved to take up immediately the negative resolution of the Committee of Ways and Means on the Presidential Exchequer bill, the paternity of which was assumed by Daniel Webster in his too celebrated Faneuil Hall speech.

Nathaniel G. Pendleton, of Cincinnati, Ohio, a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, made an hour speech against the Executive Exchequer, followed by Wise in an hour speech of reply to Marshall's paper kite of yesterday. Marshall was not in the House, a grievous lamentation to Wise, excessively sore under Marshall's flagellation, and, with his usual vindictive malignity, eager to score Marshall in return. Marshall was, I suppose, purposely absent, and Wise's hot shot fell short of their object. He was cut short in a ludicrous attitude, with his arms expanded, in the very delivery of a magnificent trope, as he thought, by Charles G. Atherton, minority Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, who spun out his hour in a dull, laudatory exposition of the Sub-Treasury. Proffit, of the guard, then pounced upon the Sub-Treasury and the Democracy, scolding like a poissarde, and repeating one hundred and one times that under the Sub-Treasury law not one dollar had ever been paid in specie. Adjourned at half-past three.

27th. I found the House in session, and Fillmore, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, in final replication,

chiefly to the charges of Cushing upon the resolution of the committee that the President's Exchequer ought *not* to be adopted. Giddings moved the previous question. Cushing withdrew his motion to strike out the word "*not.*" Thompson, of Mississippi, moved to lay the whole subject on the table. Lost—sixty-six to one hundred and forty-one. Atherton's amendment was rejected—one hundred and five to one hundred and fifteen. The resolution of the majority of the committee *not* to adopt the Webster Exchequer carried—one hundred and ninety-one to eighteen. (Remark: eleven skulking votes.) Burnell moved a reconsideration, made a speech, and withdrew his motion. Charles J. Ingersoll renewed the motion for reconsideration, made an ambidexter speech, full of sense and nonsense—of wisdom and of knavery. Wise was one of the skulkers, and then bustled up, bragged that what he abhorred above all things was dodging, and ordered the reporters to state that he would have voted for Atherton's amendment, and against Fillmore's resolution. Adjourned.

28th. At the House, a confused mass of intrusive business was admitted or rejected, according to the humor of the House, and the Speaker—Gilmer—offered a resolution calling on the President for any information about a negotiation for the cession of California by Mexico to Great Britain. Adopted without opposition.

Giddings and Cowen, alternate Chairmen of the Committee of Claims, insisted upon the observance of the rule devoting the day to private business. Cushing moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up his Exchequer bill. He said he had been reproached for not calling it up; moved to suspend the rules, and called for the yeas and nays; then withdrew the call for the yeas and nays, but said he would renew the motion to go into committee and take up that bill every day till he should succeed.

William W. Payne, of Gainesville, Sumter County, Alabama, was big with his hour speech on the Jackson fine resolution, and demanded the opportunity to be delivered of it, in which the Speaker indulged him. His speech was a brawling declamation upon necessity; invective upon Judge Hall, upon me,

upon Louaillier, and the Legislature of Louisiana at the time of the declaration of martial law. He read from Martin's History of the War, and from Eaton's Life of Jackson, and puffed and spouted himself out of breath. As his hour closed, Dawson, of Louisiana, took the floor for the next fighting day.

Charles J. Ingersoll gave notice that he would on Monday ask leave to introduce a bill to amend the act organizing the Treasury Department.

30th. At the House, this was the day to call the States for resolutions, and I had prepared two—calling on the President for information respecting the exploit of Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones at Monterey, in California; but Wise and Cushing immediately moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up their Exchequer bill. The House, taking no heed to my remonstrance, went floundering into committee, Hopkins in the chair. Wise moved to postpone the Army Appropriation bill and take up his beloved Exchequer. But Fillmore insisted upon taking up the Army Appropriation bill, and the committee refused to postpone it, by a vote of seventy-one to eighty-two. Reynolds, of Illinois, moved an amendment of twenty thousand dollars for a military survey from the Council Bluffs to the mouth of the Columbia River. After some discussion, in which Cushing avowed his ravenous appetite for the occupation of the Oregon, Reynolds's motion was rejected, and Fillmore, seeing that debate would waste time, moved that the committee should rise, for the sole purpose of voting that debate should cease, and the bill be reported to the House this day at three o'clock, which he afterwards consented to extend to half-past three. All this was done as Fillmore proposed.

In the interval, while the House was resumed, I offered my two resolutions, but Gilmer objected to one and Mallory to the other, and they were not received. There was a snarling debate on the appropriations for West Point Academy—many proposed amendments rejected, and some trifles adopted. The bill was at last reported to the House, and driven by the screws of the previous question to vote that the question should be taken on its passage *now;* but then a motion to adjourn was

carried, in spite of Landaff W. Andrews's stare and yeas and nays. There had been two reports from the Committee of Ways and Means against the memorials for W. Cost Johnson's two hundred millions of land stock to pay the State debts. Cushing crammed the reading of the majority report down the throat of the House, at the cost of many a curse.

31st. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Granger, Stuart, Holmes, Caruthers, Meriwether; absent, Everett and Shepperd. I read the note of the Secretary of State to me suggesting the wish that the restrictions on the application of the sum of forty thousand dollars proposed to be appropriated for the mission to China should be struck out from the bill, and, after some discussion, I obtained authority—five to two—to move in the House to strike out the restrictions. I then requested to be instructed to move in the House in the name of the committee the two resolutions moved by me in the House yesterday, but objected to by Gilmer and Mallory, and not received, calling on the President for information, correspondence, and *all* the instructions to Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones relating to his invasion of the Californias and capture of Monterey on the 19th of last October.

Question was made whether the usual exception of what the President might deem it incompatible with the public interest to communicate should not be inserted.

I said I had left it out purposely. The act of Commodore Jones being avowedly war, and that being exclusively within the constitutional power of Congress to declare, I thought the usual exception would be improper.

Granger said that on a former occasion he had insisted on the insertion of the usual exception; but, as this was a case of actual war, he thought the exception should not be inserted.

Cushing questioned what he calls the jurisdiction of the committee—the subject not having been referred to them by the House. But my motion was carried—five to two, Holmes and Cushing voting *no*. Cushing asked and obtained leave to move in the House to take the French Claims bill out of the committee of the whole on the state of the Union next Tuesday.

At the House, on the call of the committees for reports, James A. Pearce, from the Committee on the Judiciary, presented a report on the General Jackson fine case, which occasioned no small agitation. Pearce moved the printing of five thousand extra copies, and also of C. J. Ingersoll's minority report of last summer; but objection was made, and the order to print was only for the usual number. The morning hour expired, and Territorial business was the special order of the day. A bill to authorize the Western States to sell their lands reserved for schools was driven through, against the warm remonstrances of Howard, of Michigan; and, after a heart-rending oration of the younger Dodge, delegate from Iowa, a bill to pay Iowa militia for battling against Missouri usurpation, rejected last summer, was now reconsidered and passed.

February 1st. At the House, this morning, the hour allotted to the call for reports from committees was delayed nearly one hour by senseless or malicious resolutions, among which Thompson, of Mississippi, the repudiator, moved a reconsideration of the vote of yesterday passing the Army Appropriation bill. His pretended purpose was to make large retrenchments; and he expatiated largely upon the emptiness of the Treasury, the deficiency of the revenue, and the absolute necessity of great reductions of expenditures.

Granger answered him in a speech of cutting sarcasm, and the motion was laid on the table by a seemingly unanimous vote. But Thompson will go home and make capital on the stump by his motion.

The call on committees for reports followed, and, when the Foreign Affairs were called, Cushing reported the resolution to take the French Claims bill out of committee of the whole on the Union next Tuesday—which started a most cankerous debate of half an hour, bristled with points of order, and at last a motion by Cave Johnson to lay the whole subject on the table; lost, by yeas and nays—ninety-three to a hundred and three. Then the previous question seconded, and a vote not to take the main question now.

I then offered, from the Committee of Foreign Affairs, my two resolutions of call upon the President for information, cor-

respondence, and instruction relating to Ap Catesby Jones's exploits in California.

Wise objected, and said he had a letter from Captain Jones himself which would explain the whole affair to the satisfaction of the House. Granger had moved the previous question, and offered to allow the reading of Captain Jones's letter, but declined withdrawing his motion, without which Wise would not have Jones's letter read. The previous question was seconded —ninety-three to seventy. Wise asked if he could move to postpone the subject. The Speaker said no, but he could move to lay it on the table. Wise asked if the morning hour was expired. The Speaker said yes. Wise called for the orders of the day. The Territorial bills were then taken up and debated in committee of the whole, Joseph R. Ingersoll in the chair, till the time for adjournment. Two confidential messages were received from the President, and referred without reading to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

2d. I have no respite from the anxieties of attendance upon the business of the House. On Monday last, one of the days specially assigned by the rules of the House for the reception of resolutions, I had proposed two calling on the President for information, correspondence, and instructions relating to the invasion of California by Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, last October. Two abortions of attempt had already been made to call partially for this information, one by Gwin, of Mississippi, a blunderer, too stupid to see the issues of his own movements, and another by Botts, who was immediately arrested by a hint from Wise. The duty of the House to call for this information was, in my belief, so transcendent that I could no longer forbear to initiate the call myself. But on Monday Wise contrived to get a vote of the House superseding the reception of resolutions by going into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, though he failed to get up the Exchequer bill, for which he had made the motion. I nevertheless presented my resolutions, but a single objection sufficed to exclude them from reception, and Gilmer and Mallory objected. My resolutions were returned to me from the Clerk's table. I reproduced them the next morning in the Committee

of Foreign Affairs, and obtained an instruction from them to report them from the committee. But Cushing's motion to fix a time for taking the French Claims out of committee occupied the whole morning hour of Tuesday. It was not till yesterday that I could report the two resolutions, and then Wise, by chicanery, still kept off the decision, till there had been announced a second to the previous question. This morning a desperate attempt was again made to supersede the morning hour by going at once into committee of the whole on the Territorial business. But I insisted on the question upon my resolutions. Cushing asked to be excused from voting, because the usual exception was omitted, and was excused. Wise asked to be excused, and, after a trifling speech, withdrew his motion, and voted. The resolutions were adopted, by yeas and nays—one hundred and eighteen to sixty-nine—of which last at least ten dough-faced Democrats changed their votes from aye to no after the roll had been called through.

Then came the votes on Cushing's motion to take the French claims out of committee. Motion to lay the whole subject on the table; lost—ninety-four to one hundred and four. Motion to take the main question now; lost—ninety-four to one hundred. After this the Territorial bills consumed the remainder of the day. I got involved suddenly and unexpectedly in the discussion of one of them, to provide payment for an illegal meeting of the Legislature of Wisconsin, which dragged on till the committee rose twice for want of a quorum, and two motions to adjourn had been rejected by yeas and nays, and at last the House adjourned without taking them.

3d. At the House, among the reports from committees was one by Samson Mason, from the Committee of Ways and Means, to refund the balance due to the State of Massachusetts for disbursements during the last war with Great Britain. A Harbor bill by John P. Kennedy, Chairman of the Committee of Commerce, and a bill by Mr. Underwood, Chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, to amend the charter of the city of Alexandria. Hitherto the Mayor has been elected by the Common Council, elected themselves by the householders. The bill provides that the same voters who

elect the Council shall also elect the Mayor. Cave Johnson began some stir about an amendment to impart universal suffrage; but Underwood reminded him of my motion upon the bill of the last session to strike out the word "white" from his universal suffrage, and he was quiet as a mouse, and let the bill pass in silence.

Pearce called up his motion to print five thousand extra copies of the report of the Judiciary Committee on General Jackson's fine, but could not get a vote upon it. Cushing insisted upon a decision upon his motion to take the French Claims bill out of the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Atherton moved to lay Cushing's motion on the table, and it was carried, by yeas and nays—ninety-seven to ninety-three.

Private and Territorial business followed. Levy, who had the floor by assignment, upon the bill for the relief of the inhabitants of Florida, made a show as if he was very anxious to make his speech upon it, but suffered it to pass over for other bills to be taken up. I went down to the room of the Supreme Court, where John J. Crittenden was arguing a Kentucky land cause. I was recalled by a message from Mr. Giddings, upon another demonstration of Levy, that he wished to speak upon his West Florida bill; but before I got back to my seat his impulse had subsided, and other business had succeeded.

4th. As I took my seat in the House, Mr. Otis, one of the reporters, came and asked me to go into the Speaker's room to see a blind man named Benjamin B. Bowen, who wished to deliver a lecture upon the education of the blind. I went accordingly, and found the Speaker in his chamber, with Mr. McKennan, of Pennsylvania, Mr. Briggs, of Massachusetts, and the blind man, who was introduced to me. After a short conversation with him, Mr. McKennan said that Mr. Bowen would deliver a lecture on the education of the blind, to-morrow evening, at the Unitarian Church, and wished to obtain the use of the Representative hall to deliver another lecture on the same subject, next Monday, and asked me to make the motion to that effect in the House—to which I reluctantly agreed. I did accordingly make the motion, and it was adopted without opposition.

Mr. Summers, of Virginia, came with a more awkward pro-

posal. He is charged by Samuel T. Washington to present to Congress the sword used by General George Washington in the Revolutionary War; and he intends to make a sentimental patriotic speech on presenting it; and he requested me to offer the joint resolution accepting the sword and proposing the disposal of it. His own opinion was to direct that it shall be deposited in the hall of the National Institute for the Promotion of Science. I entreated him to excuse me from this service, but he pressed me till I gave way and consented to undertake it.

The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Elisha H. Allen in the chair, and took up the Navy Appropriation bill. Meriwether, of Georgia, moved a proviso reducing the pay of all the navy officers twenty per cent. Fillmore objected that this amendment was not in order. Fillmore appealed from the decision, but the committee—seventy to sixty-three—sustained the Chairman. Then came up a stiff debate upon Meriwether's proviso, which at three o'clock the committee rose without deciding, and the House adjourned.

6th. I called on Mr. Summers, to arrange the manner in which he proposes to present to the House the sword and cane of Washington to-morrow. He promised to call on me this evening, at my house, and to read me the speech that he intends to make. Morgan, of New York, asked me to give him the manuscript of what I should say. I told him I knew not what I should say.

Among the reports of committees was one by Cowen, from the Committee of Claims, with a bill for the relief of Amos Kendall, who is within prison limits upon a judgment against him as Postmaster-General. Cowen wished that a day should be fixed for the consideration of the bill, or to take it up immediately; but it was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

J. P. Kennedy offered a resolution to reward by promotion all the officers of the late exploring expedition; which was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. The Navy Appropriation bill was taken up in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Allen, of Maine, in the chair.

A long debate ensued on Meriwether's motion to reduce the pay of all the navy officers twenty per cent. Wise, Fessenden, Gordon, Mark A. Cooper, and Arnold, of Tennessee, made long speeches, and Arnold extorted an order of fixing a day to consider his bill No. 548. Mark A. Cooper's speech contained sense enough to atone for many fooleries he is in the constant habit of inflicting upon the House. Mr. Summers came this evening, and read to me the speech he intends to make on presenting the sword and cane, to-morrow; and I agreed with him on the substance of the joint resolution which I am to present for the disposal of the relics.

7th. Under some depression of spirits, and a diffidence of which I cannot divest myself, I wrote last night and this morning a few sentences laudatory of the two worthies who were to dignify the ceremonies of this day, and at ten this morning attended the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Everett, Granger, Shepperd, Caruthers, Stuart, Meriwether. We had memorials from Fredericksburg and from Alexandria, praying for the establishment of a line of packets to Chagres, in connection with a mail conveyance over the Isthmus to Panama. They were, after some discussion, referred to Mr. Shepperd.

There was a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury from some officer of the Colonization Society, claiming an appropriation of five thousand dollars for the support of slaves who may be taken by our squadrons on the coast of Africa. Mr. Forward had sent the letter to the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means—Fillmore—at whose motion it had been referred by the House to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Mr. Everett drew up a section which I was instructed by the committee to move in the House as an amendment to the Navy Appropriation bill, now in committee of the whole on the state of the Union. His first motion was that it should be introduced into the bill for carrying into execution the Ashburton Treaty; but on discussion it was concluded that although the treaty stipulates that we shall keep for five years a squadron of eighty guns on the coast of Africa for the purpose of capturing American slavers, yet it has no reference to the disposal of the cap-

tured slaves. By a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, on a resolution of the Senate, it was estimated that the cost of keeping the squadron will be for the first year half a million, and for the four others three hundred thousand dollars a year.

At the House, during the morning hour, Fillmore moved a resolution to take the Naval Appropriation bill out of committee of the whole on the state of the Union at two o'clock to-morrow, and carried it by moving the previous question, which Cave Johnson in vain moved to lay on the table, and lost—sixty-eight to ninety-five; and Arnold obtained, by a suspension of the rules, an order to make his bill No. 548 the special order of the day for next Tuesday, by yeas and nays—one hundred and thirty-one to fifty-three.

At twelve o'clock Mr. Summers rose, and presented from Samuel T. Washington the sword of General Washington, and the cane bequeathed to him by Benjamin Franklin, with a beautiful and affecting speech. I moved a joint resolution accepting the present, disposing of the present, and giving the thanks of Congress to the donor. The resolution passed unanimously, and the House adjourned.

8th. Immediately after the adoption of the joint resolution offered by me yesterday, Mr. Taliaferro moved that Mr. Summers's address to the House, and mine, should be entered on the journal; which was unanimously adopted. This morning Briggs moved that the letter from Samuel P. Washington, tendering the present, and a letter of George C. Washington, identifying the articles, be entered upon the journal with the proceedings of the House, and Mr. Taliaferro moved that twenty thousand copies of the full journal of the House relating to the subject be printed, to be distributed by the members of the House among their constituents; both which motions were unanimously adopted.

James A. Pearce, the reporter from the Judiciary Committee against the refunding of General Jackson's fine, had moved the printing of five thousand extra copies, both of his report and of the supplementary report of the minority by Charles J. Ingersoll, Romulus M. Saunders, and James J. Roosevelt. Objection had been made to the motion, and it had thus been

shuffled off by the Jackson jackals with the hope of suppressing its circulation among the people, as they have done with Winthrop's report on the oppression of colored seamen in Southern ports; but Pearce fastened his motion upon the House this day, and carried it. Thompson, of Indiana, moved to reconsider the vote of yesterday which laid on the table Cushing's motion to fix a day for considering the French Claims bill. The Speaker decided that Thompson's motion was not in order. Thompson appealed, but the decision of the Speaker was sustained.

Joseph R. Ingersoll moved to print ten thousand copies of the two reports from the Committee of Ways and Means against W. Cost Johnson's project for assuming and paying the State debts. Watterson objected. At the expiration of the morning hour, Holmes took the floor on the Navy Appropriation bill, followed by Joseph L. White, of Indiana, and Charles Brown, with interludes by Fillmore, Wise, and Meriwether, till, at two o'clock, the voting on the amendments began. Meriwether's razor was rejected. My amendment from the Committee of Foreign Affairs was adopted without opposition. The bill was reported to the House about three, and carried through by the previous question, and a losing game motion by Fillmore, for reconsideration.

9th. Mr. Leavitt called on me, and spoke of the underhand movements to carry, by springing a mine, the annexation of Texas to this Union. He suggested that some of the members thought of uniting in an address to the people of the free States against it. Mr. Giddings had intimated to me yesterday a similar purpose, in which I told him I would very readily concur, but that I had no confidence in the firmness of any one member from the free States to put his name to any such address.

I was belated this morning by twenty minutes in reaching the House, and found them in a snarl of debate on a question about the reception of a report of one member (Aycrigg) of the Select Committee on the Coast Survey—in the course of which debate W. Cost Johnson protested against a practice of recent origin, of receiving partial and minority reports, and

complained of the double report of the Committee of Ways and Means against his project of creating two hundred millions of stocks, hypothecated on the public lands, to pay the debts of the States.

Joseph R. Ingersoll and Pickens, the authors of the two reports, and Fillmore, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, kindled into a flame in support of the unanimity of their report. This debate was all episodical, and I suggested to W. C. Johnson that he was making up an issue upon a mere immaterial incident, and not upon the vital point.

Aycrigg's report was received, and ordered to be printed. Mr. Crawford, the new member from Georgia, asked an explanation of some disparaging allusion to him made yesterday by Charles Brown, who immediately frittered it away by explanation. Ten thousand extra copies of the annual report of the Commissioner of Patents were ordered to be printed. A bill came from the Senate for the occupation of the Oregon Territory. Pendleton moved to refer it to the Committee on Military Affairs; Reynolds, to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union; and Everett, to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. The two former motions were rejected, and Everett's adopted; upon which, Andrew Kennedy, of Indiana, said, aloud, "There is the end of that."

10th. My business crowds upon me beyond endurance, and almost every day, from an impulse that I cannot resist, I plunge into new controversies, with which I ought not to meddle. I was again belated, though by not more than five minutes, in reaching the House, and found Dawson, of Louisiana, struggling for the floor, on the Jackson fine resolution. Several members had moved resolutions of reconsideration on votes yesterday taken. Among them was one referring to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union a bill surreptitiously smuggled into the House by Reynolds, of Illinois, being the same bill which Dr. Linn, of Missouri, has been worming through the Senate for the benefit of Tom Benton. The Senate bill had, after a double tug, been referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Everett now moved to reconsider the reference of Reynolds's bill to the committee of the whole on the

state of the Union, and that it be referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs; which was carried without a division.

Fillmore, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to reissue Treasury notes as they shall be paid in. Joseph R. Ingersoll brought up, quite malapropos, his motion to print his and Pickens's reports from the Committee of Ways and Means against W. Cost Johnson's project of issuing two hundred millions of stock at three per cent., hypothecated upon the proceeds of the public lands. Both reports are ridiculously shallow, and very uncourteous to Johnson and to his committee.

Dawson was in the agonies of parturition upon the fine, so I thought I would start new game, and opposed the printing of any extra copies of the two reports. This was perfectly desperate as to success, taking the [1] upon both the great parties of the country. They will vote down my objection by a nearly unanimous conclusion; but I proved them wrong, and, taking Governor McNutt's letter and the State of Mississippi to task for repudiation, struck flint and steel together, which will make another week morning-hour's debate. Gwin and Thompson, the two members from Mississippi, were frantic, but Gwin had only five minutes to empty his bile-bag on me for this day, and has the floor for another emission to-morrow. Ingersoll was touched and angry; but I disclaimed all personal imputation. The House passed for the remainder of the day to the District business. I invited the Massachusetts members to meet at my house at seven to-morrow evening.

11th. Special meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, called by me for the consideration of the two bills for the occupation of the Oregon Territory. Present, Adams, Cushing, Granger, Stuart, Shepperd, Caruthers, Holmes, Meriwether; absent, Everett, who afterwards told me that he had been all night sick, and could not come. Before the committee was full, I took up the memorial of Hope & Co., claiming the responsibility of the Government of the United States for a debt contracted by the Territory of Florida; which was again re-

[1] The word in the copy looks like *stud*. It may have been meant either for *stand* or *start*.

ferred to Mr. Cushing, as it had been at the last session, when he made no report.

The Senate bill for the occupation of the Territory of Oregon was then read, and Holmes instantly moved to report against it. There was no discussion of its merits or of its details, but I was desirous of leaving some record of the vote. I polled the committee. Granger, Stuart, Shepperd, Caruthers, and Holmes voted against both bills; Meriwether, for the Senate bill; Cushing, for it, with an amendment which he said he would offer.

I moved to be instructed, in the event of the House's refusing to accept the report against the bill, to move an amendment that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except upon conviction for crime, throughout the Territory; and I asked that the yeas and nays on this proposition should be taken, and recorded on the minutes.

It was finally agreed that the Chairman should move in the House that the Senate bill should be printed, and that the question upon reporting the bills be postponed till next Tuesday.

In the House, Gwin, of Mississippi, disgorged his swindler spleen upon me for exposing his knavery and that of his Governor, McNutt. He gave also a blast to Granger, who repaid him in his own coin. W. Cost Johnson then took the floor for the next morning hour. The extra printing of the reports of the Committee of Ways and Means wedged out the Jackson fine for the present. Levy's bill of plunder for the inhabitants of East Florida had been made the special order for this day. I had moved to lay it on the table, but withdrew the motion to let him reply to my argument—which he did with a warm hour speech. I rejoined a few words, and renewed the motion to lay the bill on the table; lost, by yeas and nays—seventy-three to seventy-seven. Sherlock J. Andrews moved the previous question, which cut off Giddings's amendment. The bill was rejected—thirty-six to one hundred and thirteen. Weller moved a reconsideration to let Levy make another hour speech—which he did. I was provoked to the boiling point, but made no reply. Fillmore moved to lay the motion for reconsideration on the table; which was carried by accla-

mation. This evening the members of the Massachusetts delegation in both Houses held a consultation with me about the Latimer petition, in which we came to no conclusion, but are to wait for the petition to arrive.

13th. First meeting of the select committee on the memorials praying for the creation of two hundred millions of stocks, hypothecated on the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, called by William Cost Johnson, Chairman, was held at ten this morning, in the committee-room of the Committee of the District of Columbia. The members present, besides Johnson, were Calvary Morris, of Ohio, James H. Cravens, of Indiana, Zadok Casey, of Illinois, and at last, just as we were going up to the House, Thomas F. Marshall, of Kentucky, who came into the committee-room puffing out a lighted cigar.

Mr. Johnson read the memorial referred to the committee, and there were several others. Mr. Johnson moved that the committee should choose a Chairman; but I decidedly objected to that, and he acquiesced. Our conversation was of a general character, and I said that, from the all but universal prejudice against the plan, there could be no possible expectation of its being even listened to at this session of Congress; that I dared not even hope that we could defeat Joseph R. Ingersoll's motion to print and circulate ten thousand copies of these two reports from the Committee of Ways and Means, crushing in the bud the very conception of the plan; that I believed all that could now be done would be for the Chairman to prepare an elaborate report showing the impossibility of the Federal Government's escaping from responsibility for the debts of the States—analyzing those debts, demonstrating that the great mass of them have been contracted for useful and national purposes, that the ultimate result of them when completed would vindicate them even as measures of sound economy, and refuting with sound argument both the reports from the Committee of Ways and Means; that I believed such a report could now be made, and left as a germ for future enlargement and improvement; and this was all that could be done to any useful purpose now. We agreed to meet again next Thursday morning.

In the House, the day was a convulsion. Moore, of Loui-

siana, made a gasp to go into committee of the whole on the bill to refund the fine of General Jackson, but it failed. Giddings made a noble hour speech against our base patronage of the slave-trade, on a bill to pay out from the Treasury money received from the British Government for the "Comet" and "Encomium." Cushing, the sycophant, answered him, and Dawson, the drunken bully, insulted him. The House tamely passed it over. A beggarly message was received from the President, upon which Wise bullied the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means a full hour, without disturbing his serenity. All this I witnessed with boiling indignation, but in silence. I foresaw a day shortly to come for an explosion from which I cannot flinch.

14th. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger, Shepperd, Stuart, Caruthers, Meriwether, and Holmes—the whole committee. As soon as the committee was formed (by a quorum), while waiting for the other members, Mr. Cushing's report on the Ashburton Treaty was taken up, and he read a large portion of it. The reading was suspended as soon as the committee was full, and I read the minutes of the proceedings of the committee last Saturday on the two bills for the occupation of the Oregon Territory. Mr. Everett agreed with the majority to report against both the bills. But they unanimously rejected my motion to instruct me to move the amendment excluding slavery from the new Territory forever; as it was from the Northwestern Territory. Granger said I could move it as an individual member, and he would vote with me for it. Everett said he voted against my motion on the same ground taken by Mr. Granger. The rest, including Cushing, all voted directly, and without assigning any reason, against my motion.

After some discussion, I was instructed to move the reference of the two bills to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union—where, they said, no more would be heard of them at this session.

In the House, after a long jumble of petitions presented out of order, and privileged motions for personal explanations, Gwin, of Mississippi, got the floor on a pretence of personal explana-

tion, but it was for the purpose of replying to the charges of Granger against the fraudulent repudiation of her debts by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi. Granger rejoined upon him, and proved by unquestionable documents the responsibility of the State upon her bonds, and the dishonesty of her refusal to pay them. At last Arnold succeeded in worrying the House into an order that they would take his bill No. 548 out of committee this day at three o'clock; and then twice into committee of the whole, first Briggs and then Underwood in the chair, and a Babel of amendments were offered, with inextricable confusion, till three o'clock. Then the debate, no part of which had been upon the provisions of the bill, ceased, and questions were taken upon amendments, till past four o'clock, when the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

15th. Adjourned meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Meriwether, Caruthers, Stuart, Shepperd; absent, Everett, Granger, and Holmes. Cushing resumed and concluded the reading of his report on the Ashburton Treaty. The part of the report relating to the boundary questions was all unexceptionable, but all the remainder, and particularly the part relating to the article of compromise with regard to the suppression of the African slave-trade, was so full of bad temper and absurd reasoning that I objected to it altogether, and said if it was to be presented to the House at all I should move many amendments to it, and to strike out nearly the whole of it. Mr. Meriwether also objected to it, and said he had written out his views on the execution of the treaty, also in the form of a report. We had no time for further discussion, and adjourned to Friday morning, ten o'clock.

Before going to the House, I had a quarter of an hour's conversation with Cushing, and told him there was a war now in parturition between Freedom and Slavery throughout the globe; that it would be a war for the abolition of slavery, at the head of which would be Great Britain; that in this war I could take no part—I was going off the stage; but he was coming on to it; and I conjured him, as he cherished his own and his country's honor, not to commit himself, in this great controversy,

to the side of slavery; and to return to the cause of liberty, from which he had not yet irrevocably strayed.

He heard me without taking offence, but apparently without conviction.

I found the House in session, taking the questions upon the amendments to Arnold's retrenchment bill No. 548. In committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Underwood in the chair, twenty-six members in succession proposed amendments, some of them three or four, almost all of which were rejected. That which bore on the compensation and attendance of the members of Congress was offered by T. M. T. McKennan, and was adopted. Botts moved to report against the bill; only thirty-eight, by tellers, voted for that. As soon as the bill was reported, Cushing moved to lay it and all the amendments on the table; lost, by yeas and nays—forty-two to one hundred and sixty-seven. The bill was forced through this day by suspension of the rules, moved by Briggs. Yeas and nays, one hundred and sixty-six to forty-eight—Baker, Briggs, Calhoun, Hudson, and Parmenter voting aye; Adams, Saltonstall, and Winthrop, nay. Burnell and Cushing did not vote. Moore, of Louisiana, moved a reconsideration pro formâ; lost without a count. The bill was irrevocably passed, and the House adjourned.

16th. A man by the name of Bird came this morning and enquired concerning a petition for a pension which he said I had presented for him five or six years ago. I had no recollection of it, but asked him to call again, being obliged to go immediately to attend the select committee on the memorials praying for the issuing of two hundred millions of stocks hypothecated upon the proceeds of the sales of the public lands. At the meeting were present W. C. Johnson, Meredith P. Gentry, James H. Cravens, Calvary Morris, Jacob M. Howard, of Michigan, and myself; absent, Marshall, Casey, and the ninth member. There was further conversation upon the general topic; but it is evident nothing specific can be done at the present session of Congress. I expressed the opinion that the Chairman should prepare an argumentative report, urging the transcendent necessity of the interposition of Congress for the

relief of the people of the States overburdened with debt, closing with a resolution declaratory of that principle; a second resolution, declaring that there is not time at the present session to mature a specific measure; and a third, discharging the committee from the further consideration of the subject.

Mr. Johnson appearing desirous of presenting his own bill, which may do as well to lay on the table as anything else, we agreed to meet again at ten Saturday morning.

At the House, after an abortive attempt of a Pennsylvanian dunce, named Almon H. Read, to get a silly motion of his, made and rejected yesterday, upon the journal, the committees were called for reports. When the Committee of Foreign Affairs was called, I reported the bill from the Senate for the occupation of the Oregon Territory, and for other purposes, and the same bill reported by Reynolds, of Illinois, in the House, without amendments, and with the opinion of the committee that neither of them ought to pass. They were then, at my motion, referred, without opposition, to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

Mr. John P. Kennedy's joint resolution, declaring the expediency of repealing the reciprocity treaties with the minor navigating powers, was at last taken up, and he made an able and elaborate speech in favor of that measure. Cushing discoursed upon it about half an hour, and Brewster, a New York borderer on Canada, spoke earnestly in support of the reciprocity system. Fillmore moved the committee to rise, and say no more about this matter at the present session. The committee rose, and the House adjourned.

17th. Met the Committee of Foreign Affairs at ten this morning. Present, Adams, Cushing, Stuart, Caruthers, Meriwether; absent, Everett, Granger, Shepperd, and Holmes. I returned to Meriwether his manuscript report on the execution of the Ashburton Treaty, which he had lent me, and which I had carefully read. He now read it to the committee. It is bitter and rancorous against Great Britain beyond all example, and excessively violent against the eighth article of the treaty. It is a pure effusion of wormwood and of gall. I declared my dissent to its opinions from the first to the last line, and my

dissent, quite as explicit, to all the report of Cushing, except what related to the boundary. I proposed to abandon the idea of making a detailed report, and to confine it to a short statement of facts, merely glancing at the stipulations which we have engaged to fulfil, and requiring the action of Congress for their fulfilment. As there was a bare majority of the committee present, we adjourned to Tuesday morning for a final decision on this subject.

At the House, after a prelude for Fillmore to report the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill for the new fiscal year from 1st July, 1843, to 1st July, 1844, and a struggle by D. D. Barnard to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union on the Exchequer bill, W. Cost Johnson obtained the floor for the morning hour against Joseph R. Ingersoll's motion to print ten thousand extra copies of the two reports from the Committee of Ways and Means against the issuing of two hundred millions of stock hypothecated on the proceeds of the sales of the public lands. When he finished, Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, took the floor to reply. Johnson's argument was against the reasoning of J. R. Ingersoll's report, and he took little or no notice of the minority report of Atherton and Pickens.

This evening, my colleagues, Baker, Briggs, Calhoun, Saltonstall, were again at my house, and we agreed on the manner of presenting the great Massachusetts Latimer petition next Monday morning. Cushing and Parmenter did not come; Hudson and Burnell sick; Borden gone home.

18th. Meeting of the two hundred million stock select committee. Present, W. Cost Johnson, Calvary Morris, of Ohio, Thomas F. Marshall, of Kentucky, James Cooper, of Pennsylvania, Meredith P. Gentry, of Tennessee, and J. Q. Adams, and Jacob M. Howard, of Michigan; absent, Cravens, of Indiana, and Casey, of Illinois. The conversation was still general, and, excepting Johnson and Gentry, all the members are scary upon the question of the assumption of State debts. Marshall, the most popular speaker in the committee, dreams of nothing but his own very doubtful re-election, and is afraid of encountering the odium of State debt assumption, and dares not look in the

face the issue of foreign war waged in defence of repudiation. The memorials all urge the creation of two hundred millions of three per cent. stocks, to be distributed among the States—a measure impracticable now, and which never will be practicable, but no other will now be proposed. The committee cannot now be brought to agree upon even any general principle of relief. The Chairman said that he would on Monday morning present a specific measure for the consideration of the committee.

I found the House twenty minutes in session, and in full squabble about the removal of Jonathan Roberts and Calvin Blythe, successively, as Collectors of the Customs at Philadelphia. Toland had moved a call on the Secretary of the Treasury for the causes of the removal of Jonathan Roberts; Charles Brown, by way of counter-check, had moved for the causes of the removal of Blythe. The Secretary of the Treasury answers that there was no charge against either of them; and here was Charles Brown growling at Toland, and Wise howling at Fillmore, to bully down the enquiry. Wise howled himself so hoarse that he lost the power of articulation; and as for Toland's small and feeble voice, not a word of it could be heard. The expiration of the morning hour came to suspend for a moment the din of Pandemonium.

Barnard made a struggle to get into committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon his own substitute for Cushing's Exchequer, but he failed. The bill for the relief of the heirs of Philip Renault was rejected by yeas and nays—seventy-one to ninety-seven. Underwood cried aloud to take up the District and Territorial bills. I prevailed upon him by mere dint of entreaty to let the bill for the relief of the heirs of Robert Fulton be taken up. A motion to lay it on the table was rejected—fifty-six to one hundred and two. The previous question was called, sustained, and carried. The bill was passed—eighty-nine to fifty-nine. John C. Clark moved the reconsideration to foreclose it, and the bill was sent to the Senate.

20th. Met the select committee on William Cost Johnson's two hundred millions of stock bill. Johnson, Gentry, James Cooper, Howard, and myself present; Morris, Marshall, Cravens, and Casey absent. Casey has never attended since the first

meeting. Marshall will do nothing to prepare or mature the plan; give him his theme, and he makes a flashy, gaudy speech, but he has neither steadfastness nor perseverance for anything. Johnson was not yet prepared with his specific proposal, but was forming sanguine hopes and calculations of the overwhelming popularity which will gather round his plan hereafter, and very soon—of which I have no hope whatever. The committee still came to no conclusion.

At the House, the great Latimer petition, signed by fifty-one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three citizens of Massachusetts, was in a frame on my table. It was the regular day for the call of the States for petitions. The moment the journal was read, I addressed the Speaker to call for the order of the day; but Gwin, of Mississippi, had caught the Speaker's eye, and moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the bill to refund General Jackson's fine. At the same time, Amos Gustine, a usually silent member from Pennsylvania, asked and obtained leave to present resolutions from the Legislature of Pennsylvania, urging the renewal of the Act of 1838 allowing five years of pension to the widows of Revolutionary soldiers; and he and Mathiot, of Ohio, made an appeal so pathetic to the good feelings of the House that they actually discharged the committee of the whole House on the state of the Union from a bill for that purpose referred to them, and actually passed the bill through all its stages by an unresisted impulse. I then urged the motion to call for petitions, and called the yeas and nays on Gwin's motion to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, which was carried—one hundred and fourteen to seventy-one. Of the majority, fifty-four were members from the free States. Of the seventy-one, only five were from the slave States. When in committee of the whole, a struggle ensued what bill should be taken up. Gwin's motion to take up the Jackson fine bill was rejected—sixty-seven to ninety-one. A bill for collecting moneys into the Treasury was first agreed to, then the bill for reissuing Treasury notes was taken up, upon which Barnard hung his Currency bill, and Cushing his Exchequer bill, as amendments. Barnard and Cushing made hour speeches. Cush-

ing's amendment was twice voted on by tellers; first, twenty-eight to eighty—no quorum; then thirty-eight to ninety-eight; then Barnard's amendment was rejected—thirty-four to one hundred and five. The bill was reported to the House, and passed by yeas and nays—one hundred and eleven to fifty-one. Adjourned—eighty-eight to seventy-six.

21st. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, all the members—Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger, Shepperd, Stuart, Caruthers, Meriwether, Holmes. Cushing came in just as the committee was about to adjourn. Mr. Cushing agreed to withdraw his report on the execution of the Ashburton Treaty, and there was a decided vote against allowing that of Mr. Meriwether to be reported to the House at all. I was charged to move again in the House to take the French Claims bill out of committee of the whole on the state of the Union.

In the House, I made another effort to obtain leave to present my petitions, without success; not even so far as to obtain the yeas and nays against it. Thompson, of Mississippi, made an hour speech, formally upon Joseph R. Ingersoll's motion to print extra copies of the reports from the Committee of Ways and Means on the State debts and land loan, but really a swindler speech in honor of the State of Mississippi for bilking her creditors.

Mr. Pope then got the floor for the next morning hour, and gave notice that he should offer his Bank, Tariff, Currency, Credit, and Land bill.

Fillmore finally got the House into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Robert C. Winthrop in the chair. I claimed Fillmore's promise to allow the China bill to be taken up. I moved the amendment desired by Mr. Webster, striking out the restriction upon the President in the application of the money, and this started a debate of three hours, and a rivalry of blackguard supremacy in reviling Daniel Webster, between John C. Clark and Samuel Gordon. Meriwether, Everett, Bronson, and McKeon opposed the bill, all feebly, and it was driven through, by fixing the time for taking it out of committee, and by the previous question, and motion to reconsider; both of which I myself moved.

22d. Washington's birthday. Militia company parades. After the reading of the journal, I moved to suspend the rules to enable me to present thirty-three petitions upon a variety of subjects, among which was the great Massachusetts Latimer petition. The House was thin, and Stanly suggested that I should wait till after the call of committees for reports, to take the question on my motion; to which I consented on condition, which the Speaker pledged to me, that I should resume the floor after the call of committees was completed. When the Committee of Foreign Affairs was called, I offered the resolution to cease debate on the French Claims bill, and take it out of committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to-morrow at two o'clock P.M. Romulus M. Saunders moved to lay my motion on the table, which was carried, by yeas and nays—eighty-nine to eighty. Afterwards my motion to suspend the rules was rejected—eighty to one hundred and six. Charles J. Ingersoll offered a resolution of call on the President for any correspondence with the British Government, on a difference of construction by President Tyler and Sir Robert Peel with regard to the relinquishment by the British Government, in the late Ashburton Treaty, of the right of visitation. Ingersoll sent to the Clerk's table a newspaper containing an extract of a speech of Peel, made at the recent meeting of Parliament, taking this issue with Captain Tyler. The speech was not read, but Ingersoll's call was adopted.

Then followed a committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Thomas W. Gilmer in the chair. The Navy Pension bill, Harbor and Lighthouse bill, and Fortification bill came up successively. The Senate had sent back amendments to the Fortification bill; disagreed to by the House; upon which a committee of conference was appointed. The committee rose without closing the debate on the Harbor bill, and the House adjourned after four o'clock. My Latimer petition so entirely covered my table that it left me no space for writing at it, and Brockway lent me his table for the day. I made out a list of thirty-three petitions, with the objects prayed for by them, and the committees to which they should be referred, which I delivered to Mr. Burch in the Clerk's office, demanding that they

should be entered on the journal of the House, and that my list be returned to me for publication in the National Intelligencer. The Latimer petition is among them, and there are two others for the dissolution of the Union.

23d. At the House, Briggs moved a suspension of the rules to instruct the Committee on the Judiciary to report a bill repealing the Florida Territorial law of 5th May, 1842, against free colored persons; lost, by yeas and nays—sixty-six to one hundred and four. There was some personal explanation about nothing between Thompson, of Mississippi, and Rayner, of North Carolina.

Among the reports of committees was one from the Ways and Means, on the finances, revenues, and expenditures of the year, not sparing of severe animadversion upon the President. Cushing was prodigiously fussy about a letter from Edward Everett charging Sir Robert Peel with a great error of fact in his late speech. Cushing wanted to have Everett's letter read at the Clerk's table, but did not succeed, though Briggs moved a suspension of the rules to help him. Sundry bills were discussed in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, T. W. Gilmer in the chair, and the Harbor bill was finally laid on the table, by yeas and nays—one hundred and seven to eighty-seven.

25th. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, which I had called yesterday for this morning. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger, Caruthers, Meriwether, and Holmes; absent, Shepperd, indisposed, and Stuart, whom I had not been able yesterday to notify. He was absent from the House. Cushing had shown me yesterday a confidential letter with enclosures, to be communicated to me, urging, as a wish of the President, an appropriation for a special and extraordinary mission to Great Britain. There were militant resolutions of the Legislatures of Illinois and of Missouri, relating to the Territory of Oregon, upon which I took occasion to move an instruction to me to propose this amendment to the Appropriation bill. Holmes was very warmly for it, with Cushing and myself. But Everett and Granger, peremptorily, Meriwether, bitterly, and Caruthers, with his bland and courteous smile, all

opposed it. The final decision was postponed till next Tuesday at nine.

I offered two resolutions against the annexation of Texas, upon which Holmes said he should at once pronounce his veto.

At the House, about two hours were consumed in a movement of Joseph L. Williams to drive through a joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to pay one hundred thousand dollars to certain claimants under a Cherokee treaty; and he succeeded. John Campbell had found that the vote of yesterday on the bill to suspend the single-district section of the Apportionment bill had been not ninety and ninety-one, as reported by the Clerk, but ninety-one and ninety-one; and that there had been a mistake in counting Landaff W. Andrews's vote in the negative, he not having voted at all—which he confirmed; but Campbell did not succeed in reversing the decision against his bill.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Fessenden in the chair, on the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, which was mangled till the quorum was wasted away, and then rose without concluding.

27th. I had prepared resolutions to be offered to the House, with a view to call the attention of the people of the free States to the disproportion of slave-holding Judges on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States; and an acrostic for the album of Miss Mary Jewett Morris. It is one of the grievous miseries of my life to be perpetually beset with albums and for autographs with a few lines of poetry, with which having complied in a few instances heretofore, it has brought down upon me such a shower, or rather such a waterspout, of applications that my ship sinks under them.

At the House, the first hours were consumed in chicanery by Hopkins pettifogging about the error of the Clerk in the count upon John Campbell's palinodial bill to suspend, that is, to repeal, his own single-district section of the Apportionment bill. The Clerk had reported the count ninety to ninety-one. It proved to have been ninety-one to ninety-one—a tie, by which the bill was still lost. Campbell had already wasted time in a

vain struggle to get the decision reversed. Hopkins this morning raked up the rule that in case of a tie the Speaker shall vote; upon which the Speaker said he had no sort of objection. The Chair votes in the negative.

Briggs moved to print three thousand copies extra of a post-office report. Cave Johnson objected, and snarled for half an hour, but Briggs finally carried it. Toland moved for leave to the select committee on the removal of Jonathan Roberts to sit during the session of the House. W. W. Irwin, a subaltern of the corporal's guard, objected, and then parleyed and jockeyed him out of the vote. Fillmore moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill. I called for the regular order of the day—the call for resolutions. The House decided to go into committee.

I asked leave to present my resolutions respecting the slave-holding and free State Judges on the bench of the Supreme Court. Multitudes of objections were heard. I asked a suspension of the rules, and the yeas and nays. The Speaker said the House had voted to go into committee, and my resolutions were returned to me. I gave them to Stansbury to be published in the National Intelligencer.

The day was consumed in debate on the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, Fessenden in the chair. The bill was at last reported to the House, with many amendments, one of which, introduced at my motion, was an appropriation of three thousand dollars for a Commissioner to the Sandwich Islands. Adjourned about five o'clock. There was a message received from the President in answer to the call moved by C. J. Ingersoll last week, for the correspondence with the British Government relating to the right of visitation—the issue between Captain Tyler and Sir Robert Peel.

28th. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs at nine this morning. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger, Stuart, Shepperd, Caruthers, Meriwether, Holmes—the whole committee. I presented again the motion that the Chairman be instructed to move an amendment to the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, still under consideration of the House

—an appropriation for a special Minister to Great Britain. Cushing, Holmes, and myself voted aye; Everett, Granger, Shepperd, Stuart, Caruthers, and Meriwether voted nay. I then again presented two resolutions to be reported to the House, on the reference of the resolutions from the Legislature of Alabama in favor of the annexation of Texas to this Union, and of sundry petitions against that measure—my first resolution denying the constitutional power of Congress or of any Department or Departments of the Government of the United States to annex any foreign State or people to this Union, and the second that any attempt by Act of Congress or by treaty to annex the republic of Texas to this Union would be a violation of the Constitution, null and void, and to which the free States of the Union, and their people, ought not to submit.

Meriwether moved as a substitute for my two resolutions an instruction to the Chairman to ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject. Stuart, Shepperd, Caruthers, Meriwether, Holmes, and Cushing voted for the substitute; Everett and Granger against it, declaring their willingness to vote for the first of my two resolutions. The vote was partisan sectional, except Cushing's, which was Northern servile, or dough-face. I asked, from the Committee of Foreign Affairs, the House to discharge them from the further consideration of the Texan annexation Alabama resolutions and the counter-petitions, and I offered my own two resolutions; which were read. Wise objected, and they were not received. The bill for executing the Ashburton Treaty was called up by Cushing. Carried through the committee of the whole, George W. Summers in the chair. Reported to the House, and passed, by yeas and nays—one hundred and thirty-seven to forty. Adjourned at a quarter-past five.

March 1st. Meeting of the select committee on W. Cost Johnson's plan for creating two hundred millions of dollars of three per cent. stocks, hypothecated on the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, to be distributed among the States to relieve them in the payment of their debts. Present, Johnson, Gentry, Cravens, Howard, Cooper, and Adams. We were to meet at nine, but it was half an hour later before we formed a

quorum, and, as the House met at ten, we had no time for discussion, nor even for reading the Chairman's report, which was itself not finished. We agreed to take some opportunity while the House were in session to slip out of the hall and meet again in the committee-room—which we did. Mr. Johnson's report was not yet finished, but he read what he had written, and it was agreed that he should finish it and present it to the House to-morrow. It is to conclude with two resolutions: 1, that it is expedient that the Government of the Union should come to the aid of the States to assist them in the payment of their debts by the application of their common property in the public lands; and, 2, that a committee be appointed to prepare a bill for that purpose. But, foreseeing that the first resolution, if a question be taken upon it in the House, will certainly be rejected, I offered three resolutions as a substitute for it in the event of its rejection: 1, that repudiation by a State of a debt contracted with foreigners is a violation of the Constitution of the United States in the article which prohibits every State from passing any law impairing the obligation of contracts; 2, that if any State shall, by such repudiation, involve herself in war, Congress has no power to involve the nation in that war; 3, that if any State should involve herself in such a war, she would cease to be a State of this Union, and would have no claim to the aid of the other States of the Union for her defence.

No objection was made to my introducing these resolutions as a substitute; but they startled every member of the committee present, and evidently disconcerted Johnson. He had blinked the question of repudiation and war, without the preliminary settlement of which his project is mere moonshine.

2d. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Everett, Granger, Stuart, Meriwether. We had the documents relating to the occupation of Monterey by Captain Thomas Ap Catesby Jones before us. They had been sent for to the printer's, and not one of them had been printed, although the Hayti message had been referred to the committee on the 31st of December, and the papers had been at the printer's ever since. I offered a resolution upon each of these sets of papers,

to be reported to the House—that a Consul ought to be forthwith appointed to the republic of Hayti to prosecute the claims of our citizens, and a strong declaratory resolution against the invasion of the territory of a foreign State at peace with the United States by any military or naval officer; but, there being a bare quorum of the meeting, the questions were postponed, in the expectation of a fuller meeting to-morrow.

Mr. Everett also proposed two resolutions, respecting the right of visitation at sea, for consideration to-morrow.

At the House, Reynolds, of Illinois, presented several impertinent resolutions of the Legislature of that State. Illinois is one of the bilking States, and Reynolds is one of her accredited cheats; and these States, just as they grow bold in sponging their debts, become profuse of their advice to Congress. Edward D. White, of Louisiana, in his peculiar and somewhat ludicrous style, complained of having been personally insulted by reflections upon the imputed disaffection of the people of Louisiana at the time of the English invasion in 1815. Those imputations, he said, were utterly false, and he wanted to prove it. (W. O. Butler had charged them in his speech.) White asked that the House should immediately after the morning hour go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the Senate bill No. 12, to refund General Jackson's fine. This was a spurt, and came to nothing.

Winthrop called up the resolutions appended to his report from the Committee of Commerce, on the oppression of colored seamen in Southern ports. Cave Johnson moved to lay the subject on the table; yeas and nays, eighty-six to fifty-nine. A desperate struggle was made to recharter for ten years the District banks. Defeated by Cave Johnson, Atherton, and Weller. W. Cost Johnson presented his report and resolutions on the two hundred millions of stocks project, which were ordered to be printed. A desperate effort was made, favored by Johnson himself, to exclude from reception my resolutions offered as a substitute for the first of his. They failed to exclude them from reception; but by yeas and nays—seventy-two to one hundred and eight—they refused to print them.

I defeated a bill of W. O. Butler, from the Committee of Mil-

itary Affairs, to restore the second regiment of dragoons, and much artillery. The code for the navy, reduction of postage, and the Navy Appropriation bill absorbed the time of the House till seven in the evening, when sundry motions to adjourn, and a call of the House, were rejected, and the adjournment at last carried by yeas and nays—eighty-nine to seventy-seven.

3d. Meeting of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. Present, Adams, Cushing, Everett, Granger, Shepperd, Caruthers, Meriwether; absent, Stuart and Holmes. Cushing was asked if he was ready to report upon the case of the Florida Territorial bonds, and answered that he was not. Precisely so he did at the close of the last session.

Upon my resolution that a Consul to the republic of Hayti ought to be appointed, the vote to lay it on the table was unanimous, except my own—Everett and Granger, as well as Cushing, voting in submission to the South; but my resolution against the invasion of foreign territories by any naval or military officer in time of peace was voted for by every member present except Caleb Cushing, who voted against it. Mr. Everett offered his two resolutions concerning the right of visitation at sea; but they were laid on the table by the vote of all the members present except Everett and me.

I asked Cushing if he was acting as an Executive officer or as a member of the House. He smiled, and answered in good humor that he did not know. The committee adjourned without day.

In the House, the chaos of a closing Congress was more than usually magnificent. The sixteenth joint rule of the two Houses, enjoining that no new bill shall be sent from one House to the other on the last three days of a session, and the seventeenth, that no bill shall be sent to the President for his signature on the last day of a session, were suspended, first for particular bills, and then without limitation. Committees of conference on the Civil and Diplomatic and the Navy Appropriation bills, and some others, were appointed, and adjusted sundry differences of details. Christopher H. Williams, by dint of importunity, got the House into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, upon a bill to divide the country into

two military divisions, for the benefit of General Gaines; but the bill failed. Atherton was in the chair. The House took a recess from four to six o'clock, and when the time for resuming the session came, Atherton and his gang attempted to transact business with less than half a quorum, while Gwin was leaping, like a dog at a sop suspended over his head, to get up Senate bill No. 12, to refund the fine of General Jackson. He succeeded at last in getting a vote by yeas and nays, but the House refused—seventy-seven to eighty-three—to take it up.

Weller moved the vote of thanks to the Speaker.

Charles Brown, in a huffy speech, declared he would not vote for it. Pickens, Charles J. Ingersoll, Wise, and Cushing voted for it from professed magnanimity—Wise, after asking to be excused. T. F. Marshall asked to make a speech after midnight. Not allowed. Adjourned, without day, at half-past one A.M., leaving the Senate in session upon Executive business. They sat till half-past two, and thrice rejected Wise and Cushing.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.

March 4th, 1843.—The scene has changed, but I yet fin time neither for repose nor for profitable occupation. A succession of visitors absorbed the day. First came George Brown, who informed me that he had received the appointment of Commissioner to the Sandwich Islands. He told me that Edward Everett was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to China; that Henry A. Wise was nominated three times to the Senate as Minister to France, and three times rejected; that Caleb Cushing had been three times nominated Secretary of the Treasury, with the same result; after which John C. Spencer was nominated for Secretary of the Treasury, and confirmed by the majority of one vote. W. W. Irwin, nominated Chargé d'Affaires to Denmark, was confirmed without much opposition. The vacancy in England, by Edward Everett's appointment to China, is the substitute for the special mission which slumped through in the Committee of Foreign Affairs. It is the back door by which Webster skilfully secures to himself a safe retreat from the Tyler Cabinet. If Everett declines the China mission, Webster can take it himself.

10th. In the unceasing mill-clapper talk of Mr. Hassler last evening, he asked me to introduce him to the new Secretary of the Treasury, John C. Spencer—which I agreed to do, and appointed this day at one o'clock to go with him to the Department for that purpose. He came, and we went accordingly. I introduced him, and almost immediately left them together; but not without perceiving the seeds of a conflict already germinating between two proud spirits, which bodes no good to the progress of the Coast Survey. The recent Act places Hassler under the control of a board of officers, and the whole operation

under the superintendence of the Secretary of the Treasury. Hassler, already restive under the yoke fitting to his neck, said that the work, being scientific, must be conducted on scientific principles. The Potentate answered in a subdued tone of voice, but with the trenchant stubbornness of authority, the laws must be obeyed. The pride of science clashed with the pride of place, and I left them together.

I had observed the same temper in Spencer yesterday in talking with him about the present condition and prospects of the Smithsonian Fund. I supplicated him to take an interest in the restoration, preservation, and application of the fund to the purposes of the testator. He promised to make a full report to Congress on the subject, to recommend the issue of six per cent. stock of the United States to the full amount of the dilapidated funds and the investment of it in trustees—the Chief Justice of the United States, and other officers of the Government. But he thought the disposal of the funds should be left entirely to the trustees; and he pronounced the prejudice against my plan of an astronomical observatory insurmountable, because I had once called observatories light-houses *in* the skies. My words were light-houses *of* the skies. But Mr. Spencer sees no difference between the two phrases. Mr. Spencer turned up his eyes at the swindling speculation of the Senator from Arkansas, and shrugged up his shoulders at the prospect of ever recovering the money from that State.

I spent much of this day in transiently reading the report of the trial in the Supreme Court of the United States of the case of Edward Prigg against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, otherwise called the Fugitive Slave case—seven judges, every one of them dissenting from the reasoning of all the rest, and every one of them coming to the same conclusion —the transcendent omnipotence of slavery in these United States, riveted by a clause in the Constitution that persons held to labor escaping from one State to another, shall be delivered up on the claim of the person to whom the labor is due.

13th. I went to the Department of State, and saw Mr. Webster. I returned to him a confidential dispatch which he had lent me in January last from Edward Everett, dated in November, 1842,

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immediately after the reception in England of the news of peace with China. And I said I had been much gratified with the appointment of Edward Everett as the Minister to China, deeming the mission of transcendent importance, and deeming him by his character and attainments peculiarly well suited for it. Mr. Webster seemed to be much delighted, and my remarks appeared to be quite unexpected. He immediately said he would be greatly obliged to me if I would write as much to Edward Everett himself; which I said I would do with pleasure. He asked me to send the letter to him to-morrow, when the dispatches would be made up to go by the Great Western next Thursday, though her arrival at New York is not yet known.

14th. I wrote last evening a letter to Edward Everett to persuade him to accept the mission to China, and sent the letter this day to the Department of State.

I read the message of the President to the Senate of 24th February last in answer to two of their resolutions, calling for the correspondence relating to the Quintuple Treaty on the 13th June, 1842. The House of Representatives, at my motion, adopted a similar resolution, including a copy of the treaty. On the 20th of that same month John Tyler answered the resolutions, refusing the correspondence at that time, declaring a hope and expectation that he will find it convenient to communicate it at an early day, and containing these words: "In answer to this request, I have to say that the treaty mentioned therein has not been officially communicated to the Government of the United States, and no authentic copy of it, *therefore*, can be furnished." In this present message to the Senate the first document is a letter from Daniel Webster to Cass, dated 5th April, 1842, in which he says "the President has been closely attentive to recent occurrences in Europe, connected with the treaty of the five powers, of which we received a copy soon after its signature in December."

Is there an escroc in a penitentiary who could match that for prevarication? The correspondence between Webster and Cass is tart; and, curious enough, Guizot's letter in answer to Cass's absurd protest is a chef-d'œuvre.

15th. The two reports from the Committee of Commerce on the treatment of colored mariners in our Southern ports are at last delivered, and I addressed and dispatched about forty of them to friends in the late Twelfth and present Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts.

The correspondence about the Quintuple Treaty and the right of search has at once amused and provoked me not a little. Its illustration of character is admirable. Cass's protest of 13th February, 1842, against the ratification by France of the treaty signed and sealed by her own Ambassador, is a compound of Yankee cunning, of Italian perfidy, and of French légèreté, cemented by shameless profligacy, unparalleled in American diplomacy. Tyler's approval of it is at once dishonest, mean, insincere, and hollow-hearted. Cass's correspondence with Webster is insolent, inconsistent, sophistical, and prevaricating; and Guizot's answer of 26th May to his protest of 13th February is not only a complete refutation of its absurd assumptions, but a most contemptuous exposure of its glaring falsehood. It is a silent, but not the less severe, rebuke upon President Tyler's approval of this preposterous counterfeit of a State paper. It is wretchedly printed in the official document, and still worse translated.

16th. My first visit was to the office of the Secretary of the Senate. Dickins was not there, but Hickey was. I asked to see the manuscript documents of the message to the Senate concerning the Quintuple Treaty, especially the copy of Guizot's letter to Cass of 26th May, 1842. I found that some of the errors in the printed copy were not in the manuscript; but other evident errors were. But the greatest and most disreputable errors were in the translation. I pointed them all out to Hickey, who said they must have the documents printed over again; but even that will not cover the shame of the false translation. I travelled through the driving snow to the office of the National Intelligencer, where I saw Mr. Gales and advised him to print in his paper the letter from Guizot to Cass correctly from the original. I asked him also for the Intelligencer of the 11th, containing Cushing's speech on the execution of the Ashburton Treaty, to which is annexed a copy of

the Quintuple Treaty—which he gave me. I made my way home through the snow, which continued to fall the whole day through, more than has fallen at one time for many years.

17th. I read the strange speech of John C. Clark on the bill appropriating forty thousand dollars for establishing a diplomatic intercourse with China, which is an invective of wormwood and gall against the Secretary of State. He has published it in a pamphlet, and it had long been studiously devised. The charges against him are stale and hackneyed. His treachery to the Whig party in refusing to resign with the other members of the Harrison Cabinet in August, 1841; his adhesion to Tyler, and jobbing with him for re-election, with a condition that Tyler should support him for the succession; but, above all, the Faneuil Hall speech, were the irremissible sins for which Mr. Clark administers this castigation. I thought it in bad taste when delivered. It reads to me now inexpressibly flat, stale, and unprofitable. Clark is a New York politician of the Clinton and Livingston school—in comparison with that of John Jay, ratsbane to ambrosia.

18th. It is difficult to contemplate the infirmities of our physical nature philosophically. Everything about sickness is odious to the sufferer and annoying to those around him. There is a consolation in the kindness of nursing friends; but the primary grief and self-reproach to me is the loss of time. I am idle. As the hours pass in succession I know I might be working. I brood over projected labors, and never commence working. As morning dawns, I have a long day before me, and think I shall use it to some good purpose. It slips away I know not how. Approaching midnight summons me to repose, and I have lost a day.

> "'I've lost a day,' the prince who nobly said,
> Had been an emperor without his crown."

The globe of earth has not space for the surface of empires over which I should be worthy to rule if I could proclaim the record of my lost days.

Mr. David Lee Child came in, and spent the evening with me till past eleven. He brought with him, and showed me, an

extract of a letter in Spanish from a Mexican Commissioner, La Guayra, on his way to attend a meeting of Envoys from the South American Governments and Mexico, to be held at Lima, in Peru, and of which I had never before heard. The letter is addressed to General Almonte, the Mexican Minister here, who gave the extract to Child to use it as he might think proper. Almonte had caused to be printed here, at the commencement of the last session of Congress, two pamphlets, one containing the spicy correspondence between the United States and Mexico from 12th May to 10th September, 1842, and the other, entitled "Texas," consisting of extracts from my address at Braintree of 17th September, 1842, with translations of the same into French and Spanish. The letter from La Guayra acknowledges the receipt of this last pamphlet, speaks of the address in terms of high commendation, and says he will transmit it to the principal cities of the several South American republics, for circulation there. Child further told me that in the month of January last, Webster actually proposed to Almonte a cession to the United States by Mexico of a portion of territory on the Pacific Ocean, including the port of San Francisco, so as to allow the British Government to stretch their territory down to the mouth of the Columbia River. This is a ray of light, serving to explain Webster's desire that Edward Everett should go to China and he himself to England. Child says Almonte told him that Mexico had no disposition to part with any portion of her territory. Webster's political profligacy is gigantic.

19th. I have this day been debarred by my disease from the privilege of attendance upon public worship, and felt it with deep mortification. The time has been, chiefly in foreign countries, when I have too long intermitted the duty of that attendance. Of this I charge myself especially when in Holland, in Berlin, in St. Petersburg, and last in France. I have lost by it rich opportunities of obtaining instruction, not only religious, but worldly, moral, political, intellectual. For this I blame myself; but the importance of regular attendance upon the duties of the Christian Sabbath in social communion has impressed itself more deeply on my mind in proportion as I have

advanced in years. I had neglected to become a member of the church till after the decease of my father—another omission which I now regret. I have at all times been a sincere believer in the existence of a Supreme Creator of the world, of an immortal principle within myself, responsible to that Creator for my conduct upon earth, and of the divine mission of the crucified Saviour, proclaiming immortal life and preaching peace on earth, good will to men, the natural equality of all mankind, and the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Of all these articles of faith, all resting upon the first, the existence of an Omnipotent Spirit, I entertain involuntary and agonizing doubts, which I can neither silence nor expel, and against which I need for my own comfort to be fortified and sustained by stated and frequent opportunities of receiving religious admonition and instruction. I feel myself to be a frequent sinner before God, and I need to be often admonished of it, and exhorted to virtue. This is administered in all the forms of Christian worship, and I am sure of receiving it with whatever denomination of Christian worshippers I associate to obtain it. Of late years I have deemed it my duty to attend the weekly morning performances of the Chaplains of Congress in the hall of the House of Representatives, and I hold pews at St. John's Episcopal Church and at the Second Presbyterian Church, at which I attend alternately when Congress are not in session, and in the afternoon when they are. This forms a regular portion of my habits of life, and I cannot feel the privation of it without painful sensibility.

21st. The controversy between Lewis Cass and Daniel Webster about the Ashburton Treaty, the rights of visitation and of search, and the Quintuple Treaty, still, with the comet, the zodiacal light, and the Millerite prediction of the second advent of Christ and the end of the world within five weeks from this day, continue to absorb much of the public and of my attention. The Intelligencer of this day announces another letter from Cass to Webster, who in his last letter declares the correspondence closed. This strange correspondence, the debates in the French Legislative Chambers and in both Houses of the British Parliament and in both Houses of Congress, but

especially in the Senate; this slave-trade and right of search, complicated with the Quintuple Treaty, with Texas, Mexico, California, Oregon, and the next Presidential election, breed teeming fancies in my brain, till I grope to find my way out of the thicket.

I looked up this afternoon J. C. Calhoun's three resolutions of the United States Senate of 4th March, 15th April, 1840, the preposterous claims of indemnity for the liberated slaves of the Enterprise, voted unanimously by twenty-two slave-breeders and eleven craven Democrats, with fifteen more craven spirits *absent*, skulking from the question upon which they dared not vote either yea or nay. I looked also into Ward and Vattel, to ascertain the right of visitation and search upon the ocean. The right of visitation is by the law of nature an intercourse of mutual benefit, like that of strangers meeting in a wilderness. The right of search is for pirates in peace and for enemies in war. But I must look into the "Mare clausum" and the "Mare liberum," the right of property in the ocean and upon the shores, its extent and its limitations, and especially remember that the present disputes about the right of search are all new questions, all originating in the measures devised by the British Government for the suppression of the slave-trade. Night coming on arrested me in my consultations of Ward and Vattel, and in my search to trace the fortune of this claim of indemnity for the slaves of the Enterprise, from its belligerent claim by Calhoun, in March, 1840, to its tacit surrender, merged in the negotiations of the Ashburton Treaty, and the more critical case of the Creole.

22d. I re-examined the correspondence of Stevenson and Lord Palmerston on the cases of the Comet, Enterprise, and Encomium, leaving much more for persevering enquiry, and the whole enquiry shaped and methodized for a result. The same as to the project for refunding Andrew Jackson's fine—an outrage upon law, justice, humanity, and all the principles of freedom, defeated in the last Congress, and to be perpetrated in the next. I reviewed also the two volumes of documents relating to Texas and Mexico, with reference to the late invasion of California, to the defeated bill for the occupation of the Ter-

ritory of Oregon, and to the future negotiations with England; upon all which I have much to learn, to do, and to suffer, to discharge the remainder of my duties upon earth.

23d. Another letter from Lewis Cass to Daniel Webster about the Ashburton Treaty, the right of visitation and search, and the offended dignity of the aforesaid Lewis Cass at the lordly tone assumed by the Secretary of State in the previous part of this correspondence.

I am thinking if there is anything parallel to this correspondence in our diplomatic history. Silas Deane came home from France and made a "rumpus" (that word is not in Webster's Dictionary—what a pity!) for several years, blew up a flame which kept this Union long in a "phease" (another Websterless word), and has left a large claim of his heirs and legal representatives against the United States, of which not a dollar is due, but which on some lucky day they will recover.

Mr. James Monroe was recalled by President Washington through Timothy Pickering, wireworked by Alexander Hamilton. Mr. Monroe published a volume of his correspondence against the Administration of Washington, by whom he had been appointed and recalled; which book largely contributed to the fall of Washington's Administration as continued by his successor. It helped to bring in the Jefferson Administration, which laid the foundation for the dissolution of the Union.

24th. I intended to have called this morning at the Department of State, but I wasted so much time in looking up the traces of Jackson's negotiations with Mexico for Texas and San Francisco, that the hour for visiting the public offices upon business passed away, and I must wait another day. Anthony Butler's mission to Mexico was chiefly to obtain the cession of Texas. His letter to Jackson, dated Mexico, 15th April, 1830, contains the first promise of success. His next letter, of 25th May, 1831, is apologetic and less encouraging. The next dispatch, of 16th July, 1832, to the then Secretary of State, Livingston, encloses minutes of two conversations of Butler with the Mexican Secretary of State, Alaman; after which a written proposition, dated 15th July, 1832, was delivered to Alaman, but has never been made public. From that time Butler was

mystifying Jackson, as he boasted he was doing with Alaman, promising nothing, but leaving him not without hope. The letter of 26th February, 1835, is the crowning mystification; about two months after which, Butler came to Washington, where, on the 17th of June, he made his proposals. They also are among the missing papers. There are two subsequent instructions from John Forsyth, Secretary of State, to Butler, of 2d July and 6th August, 1835—in the first of which he is told that from his own accounts no confidence is entertained of the success of his negotiation, but that, as he is sanguine of succeeding in a very short time, he may go and try his luck again, but that he must dispatch his whole business with expedition, and have the result ready to be laid before Congress by the 1st of December then next, and that it is expected he will himself immediately after return home.

He goes accordingly back to Mexico, writes two dallying dispatches to notify that he cannot finish business in quite so short a time as he had expected, and on the 15th of January, 1836, receives a notice dated 16th December, 1835, apprising him that he has been superseded by the appointment of another person. It was in a dispatch of 6th August, 1835, that Forsyth instructed him to propose the Rio Bravo to the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude, and along that parallel to the Pacific, the main object being to secure within our limits the whole bay of San Francisco. Butler tells him he has mistaken the geography, and that the place he means is called Puerto Antonio Nuevo, within which is a small town called San Francisco; and this is the San Francisco for which Captain Tyler's mouth waters.

25th. At last, after eight whole days of confinement to the house, I made out to reach the Department of State, and had a three hours' conversation with the Secretary, Daniel Webster. There was in the National Intelligencer of this morning an editorial article of four and a half columns, written by Webster himself, on the Convention of March, 1824, between the United States and Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave-trade. It refers to the recent debates in both Houses of the British Parliament and both Chambers of the French Legis-

lature upon the right of search, and especially to a speech of Lord Brougham on the 7th of last month in the British House of Peers, contesting statements just before made by Monsieur Dupin in the French Chamber of Deputies concerning this identical Convention. The main object of the article is to show that the Senate of 1824 did, in the most unequivocal manner, concede this right of search. It gives the yeas and nays in the Senate on the question of advice and consent, with the names of A. Jackson and Thomas H. Benton in the affirmative.

I asked to see the manuscript copy transmitted by General Cass to the Department, of Mr. Guizot's letter of 25th May, 1842, to him, in answer to his protest of 13th February; and he made up a packet of it, with a dispatch to Edward Everett, prepared, but not yet forwarded, to be read to Lord Aberdeen, and a copy of it to be furnished him if he desires it, being the quip modest to the letter from Lord Aberdeen, which Mr. Fox, by his order, read to Webster in his office about a month ago.

This dispatch to Everett is in Webster's best style, and makes a direct issue with Lord Aberdeen and Sir Robert Peel on the point that there is, by the law of nations, no clear, explicit, and avowed distinction between the right of visitation and the right of search; also, there is a long letter of instructions, dated 15th March, 1843, to Commodore Matthew C. Perry, going out as commander of the eighty-gun squadron to be kept on the coast of Africa. To these he added the eleventh volume of Wheaton's Reports, containing the adjudged case of the Mariana Flora in 1826.

I spoke of General Cass's recent outbreaks against him, but he did not appear inclined to discourse upon that subject. It was clear he remembered the call of the House of the 13th of June last year for copies of the Quintuple Treaty, with Cass's correspondence, and the President's refusal of them on the 28th. It is curious that Cass's dispatch, with Guizot's answer to the protest, was received on the 22d of June.

I spoke of the Senate bill for the occupation of the Oregon Territory; of Ap Catesby Jones's exploit at Monterey; of the movements in and about Texas; and I suddenly asked him if

Waddy Thompson had been instructed to negotiate for the acquisition of California.

He faltered, and said he did not know whether he could answer that question consistently with his official duty.

I told him his declining to answer was answer enough for me; and we had warm and almost, not quite, angry words. I kept my temper, but pressed him more closely, upon his declining to answer my question, than was comfortable to him. He had begun by professing profound confidence in me, and in communicating his own instruction to Edward Everett, and Upshur's to Commodore Matthew C. Perry, had said he would open to me Administration secrets. Why he should now stop short and roll himself up in mystery upon the plea of official duty, he did not explain. I saw he was deceiving me, and the danger of trusting him, and that it behooved me above all things to be upon my guard.

I said I would not press him to divulge any Administration secret that he was inclined to withhold; that he had volunteered the confidence of Administration secrets, and I could not see why it should be tendered on one point of the system of foreign affairs and denied on another. I considered all the questions about the right of search, the bill for the occupation of the Oregon Territory, Captain Jones's movement on California, and all the movements for the annexation of Texas, were parts of one great system, looking to a war for conquest and plunder from Mexico, and a war with England and alliance with France. And I referred to Wise's speech of 14th April last, avowing this project of a war with Mexico for conquest and plunder, together with a war with Great Britain. I said Wise had blabbed the whole project last April, and it could not pass without notice that that same Henry A. Wise had in the last hours of the late session of Congress been three times nominated to the Senate as Minister to France. It was also not less remarkable that Wise had been the confidential correspondent of Commodore Jones, and had stated on the floor of the House that he had received from Jones himself a letter in justification of his occupation of Monterey.

Webster said I was wrong in all this; that Jones's movement

on California was a freak of his own brain, without any authority or instruction whatever; that Wise's speech (*of which he had no knowledge*) was a vain and senseless bravado; that with regard to the annexation of Texas his decided opinion against the measure had long been public; he had not changed it, and it never could be effected by him or with his consent.

I replied with warmth, till at last he told me that he had talked over the Oregon question with Lord Ashburton; that England wanted to come down on the coast of the Pacific to the mouth of the Columbia River; and that the question had been put to him whether if a cession from Mexico, south of our present boundary, forty-two, to include the port of San Francisco, could be obtained, England would make any objection to it, and Lord Ashburton thought she would not.

I thanked Mr. Webster for thus much of communication, and said I would now press the enquiry no further. I propose to visit the Department again next Monday. But what an abîme of duplicity!

26th. My time was much absorbed in recording the double diary of yesterday, much of my conversation with D. Webster being omitted.

27th. I called at the Department of State, and returned to Mr. Webster his letter of instructions to Edward Everett, the instructions of Secretary Upshur to Commodore Matthew C. Perry, and the office copy of Mr. Guizot's letter to General Cass in answer to his protest. A very short further conversation with him. He wishes another negotiation with Great Britain. But they keep Mr. Fox here, only to make him pensionable. He has a private letter from Everett, and one from Lord Ashburton. They will take the line of the Columbia River, and let us stretch south at the expense of Mexico. Mr. Fox came in, and I went into Mr. Hunter's chamber, where he brought several of the archives of the Department, and among the rest the correspondence of Anthony Butler. His letter to Forsyth of 17th June, 1835, must be read again.

28th. It was near two o'clock P.M. before I reached the Department, and immediately went into Hunter's chamber. I made an abstract of the letter from William A. Slocum, a purser

in the navy (since deceased), to the Secretary of State, Forsyth, dated Alexandria, 1st August, 1835. This was the letter which kindled the passion of Andrew Jackson for the thirty-seventh line of latitude from the river Arkansas to the South Sea, to include the river and bay of San Francisco, and was the foundation of Forsyth's instruction to Butler of 6th August, 1835, authorizing him to offer five hundred thousand dollars more than he had received authority for before. There is another long letter from Slocum, relating to the commerce of the several South American States. Both prove him to have been an observing man. I had not time to begin the abstract of Butler's letter to Forsyth of 17th June, 1835, the substance of which is a proposal to purchase the cession of Texas by bribing a priest named Ignacio Hernandez with five hundred thousand dollars, and he encloses a note signed Hernandez, assuring him that with five hundred thousand (he says not what) he will certainly obtain his object. There is an endorsement on this letter, signed A. J., forbidding bribery or corruption.

29th. The day was fair and the temperature mild, but my "vis inertiæ" so insuperable that it was near one when I got to Mr. Hunter's chamber at the Department of State. I took up again the volume of Anthony Butler's dispatches to the Department of State and to President Jackson during his mission to Mexico, and began the abstract of his letter to Forsyth of 17th June, 1835; but I made little progress, my attention being diverted from that letter to other parts of the correspondence and to the reading of numerous other letters. I found that I could not understand the subject thoroughly but by a vigorous chronological examination of all the documents.

The appetite for Texas was from the first a Western passion, stimulated by no one more greedily than by Henry Clay. He had denounced the Florida Treaty for fixing the boundary at the Sabine, and held and preached the doctrine that we should have insisted upon our shadow of a claim to the Rio del Norte. President Monroe actually preferred the line of the Sabine, thinking that the extension of the boundary would weaken us for defence; and Jackson expressly approved the line of the Sabine. The first act of the Mexican Government, after de-

claring their independence, was to claim the boundary as settled by the Florida Treaty; and we had consented to it. But with the commencement of my Administration I appointed Poinsett Minister to Mexico, and Mr. Clay instructed him to propose the purchase of Texas. This they declined; but two years after the proposition was renewed. They then rejected it resentfully. But Jackson was so sharp-set for Texas that from the first year of his Administration he set his double engines to work, of negotiating to buy Texas with one hand, and instigating the people of that province to revolt against Mexico with the other. Houston was his agent for the rebellion, and Anthony Butler, a Mississippi land-jobber in Texas, for the purchase. Butler kept him five years on the tenter-hooks of expectation, negotiating, wheedling, promising, and finally boasting that he had secured the bargain by bribing a priest with half a million of dollars. Jackson at last found him out, and dismissed him rather abruptly. But he carried off some of the most important documents of the negotiation.

30th. At the Capitol I obtained two copies of the message of the President of 18th February last, relating to the seizure by Captain Thomas Ap Catesby Jones of the Mexican town of Monterey, in California, and several other documents concerning Mexico and Texas, of which I had made a list. In the resolution of the House calling for the Monterey document I had called for *all* the instructions to Commodore Jones and all his communications to the Navy Department, purposely omitting the usual exception of such as the President might deem it improper to communicate. I had moved the resolutions by direction of the Committee of Foreign Affairs; though it is not so stated on the journal of the House. Cushing voted against the resolutions in committee, and was, at his request, excused from voting on them in the House, because they did not contain the exception. The message, adverting to the omission of the exception, assumes a discretionary power in the Executive to withhold any documents called for by resolution of the House, but says that in this case all are given, because he sees no necessity for withholding any. I believe that at the next session of Congress it will be my duty to move some action of

Congress on this document; though I have no hope of succeeding in that or in anything else. Never in my life was there such an array of discouragement before. Never despair!

Returning from the Capitol, I stopped at the National Intelligencer office, and obtained from W. W. Seaton the four papers containing the correspondence relating to Cass's protest against the ratification of the Quintuple Treaty, and the subsequent controversy between Cass and Webster about the Ashburton Treaty.

31st. Mr. Child was here this morning, and I gave him a copy of the reprinted Executive Documents Nos. 40 and 42 of the first session of the Twenty-Fifth Congress, 1837, containing the most important papers of our relations with Mexico and Texas. I desired him to ascertain from General Almonte whether the paper delivered by Anthony Butler to Lucas Alaman on the 15th of July, 1832, and another paper, afterwards delivered by Butler to Santa Anna, and never answered by him, are not among the archives of the Mexican Government, and, if they are, to obtain copies of them. I requested him also to endeavor to procure the St. Louis newspapers containing Benton's essays, under the signatures of "Americanus" and "La Salle," in 1829; which he promised to do. Thence I went to the Department of State, and passed into Hunter's chamber, and made a short further abstract from Anthony Butler's letter to John Forsyth of 17th June, 1835. Hunter had the first number of a Texan newspaper, February last, containing a list of the members of the Executive Government; also a list of the Masonic Government, a Royal Arch Chapter, of which Anthony Butler is the Grand High-Priest.

Without finishing my abstract, I came home at four o'clock, in the rain.

April 1st. I went to Mr. Hunter's chamber at the Department of State, and finished the extracts from Anthony Butler's letter to the Secretary of State, Forsyth, of 17th June, 1835. Neither this letter nor that of W. A. Slocum of 1st August, 1835, was ever communicated to Congress; but in them originated the project of enlarging the encroachment upon Mexico, from the mere acquisition of Texas, to embrace all New Mexico

to the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude, and thence across the continent to the South Sea. Butler's letter connects with it a project for a commercial line of communication between the Arkansas River and the Colorado of California, uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The Texan expedition of last year to Santa Fe must have been a sucker from the same root. Ap Catesby Jones's occupation of Monterey, Dr. Linn's bill for the organization of the Oregon Territory, and, above all, the tampering of Webster with the Mexican Minister here, Almonte, by a proposition that Mexico should cede to the United States the port of San Francisco and the parallel thirty-six of north latitude across the continent, to buy the consent of Great Britain, with a cession to her from forty-nine to the Columbia River, present altogether a spectacle and prospect truly appalling. The root of the danger is in the convulsive impotence of Mexico to maintain her own integrity, geographical, political, or moral, and the inflexible perseverance of rapacity of our South and West, under the spur of slavery, to plunder and dismember her. Butler's bribe of half a million dollars to the confessor of Santa Anna's sister was too gross even for Jackson's stomach to allow him to give it his official sanction; but even while ostensibly disapproving of it he sent him back to Mexico, with liberty to try it in his own way, and it failed. Mr. Hamilton, of South Carolina, tried it upon Santa Anna himself, and failed. Mr. Hunter brought me the volume of secret instructions to agents of foreign intercourse, and there I found a dispatch of 14th January, 1843, to the present Consul at the Havanna, Campbell, full of the most combustible matter, putrid with slavery and the slave-trade. It announces the receipt of information from the Havanna, and a highly respectable source, charging the English abolitionists and Government with a deliberate project to occupy and ruin the island of Cuba. And the Consul is instructed to collect and transmit all possible information on the subject. Matter for more enquiry and deep meditation. The instructions promise that we will not permit Great Britain to occupy the island of Cuba.

3d. Morning call from Mr. Heman Lincoln. He is connected with the Baptist missions, and has been on an excursion to

Virginia. He was inquisitive upon the prospects of the approaching Presidential election. He asked my opinion of the chances, and agreed with me that the prospects were in favor of Martin Van Buren. He thought the prospects of Henry Clay irretrievably gone; as I have no doubt they are. Those of Tyler, Calhoun, Cass, are equally desperate. Buchanan is the shadow of a shade, and General Scott is a daguerreotype likeness of a candidate—all sunshine, through a camera obscura. Mr. Lincoln's partiality was for Theodore Frelinghuysen or Judge John McLean. I had never heard the name of Frelinghuysen as a candidate before, and McLean is but a second edition of John Tyler—vitally Democratic, double-dealing, and hypocritical. They will all go into the Democratic Convention, and all melt into the Corinthian brass of Kinderhook.

Mr. Lincoln urged me warmly to publish my lecture upon Faith. I told him I had promised a copy of it for publication, but I supposed they had forgotten it, to the trustees of the Warren Street Chapel, Boston, where it had been first delivered. I gave Mr. Lincoln copies of my Jubilee of the Constitution, of my speech of 14th and 15th April, 1842, on War with Mexico and England, and of my lecture on the social compact.

I went to the Department of State, and saw Fletcher Webster, the Chief Clerk. The Secretary, his father, left the city last night for a visit of ten days to Boston. I gave the son a letter from Plymouth for reference to the Secretary of the Navy, and went into Hunter's chamber, where I spent three hours in examining the instructions to Poinsett and Anthony Butler, and their correspondence relating to the boundary with Mexico and to Texas. The enquiry deepens as I proceed, and I shall, as usual, be obliged to break it short off, for want of time to find its soundings. The chronology of the negotiations for the acquisition of Texas and California would of itself be a labor of weeks, and yet without it I cannot master the subject for any useful result. Upon enquiry of Mr. Hunter for the essays of "Americanus" and "La Salle," he brought me a thin volume of Missouri and other Western newspapers of the year 1829, forming a complete collection of those documents, none of which I had ever before seen. The first instruction under the

Jackson Administration on this subject was from Van Buren to Poinsett, 25th August, 1829, precisely at the time when Benton was publishing "Americanus" and "La Salle" at St. Louis. I have reading for at least a month, opened to me by the cursory perusals of this day.

4th. At home, I took up the message and documents relating to the seizure of Monterey by Captain Thomas Ap Catesby Jones. There is no warrant for it in any of his written instructions from the Navy Department. But I remark with no small concern—1, the special charge of exploring the coast within the Gulf of California, and as high as the port of San Francisco, one of the reasons of which is the weakness of the local authorities, and their irresponsibility to the distant Government of Mexico; 2, the tone of intercourse, both military and diplomatic, bearing upon Mexico.

It would never have entered into the head of Jones to commit such an outrage upon a nation whom he believed able to resent it. Waddy Thompson's diplomacy is in perfect keeping with this temper. Even his apologies are insolent, insulting, and contemptuous; and there is far too much of the same spirit in the notes of our Secretary of State. The spirit of encroachment upon Mexico is stimulated and nourished by this settled and too well founded conviction of her helpless weakness, in conflict with the gigantic energy of our national avarice and ambition. When I contemplate the prospect before us, my heart sinks within me for the cause of human freedom and for our own. At the Department of State, too, I found matter for gloomy anticipations in the instructions of 13th January last to the Consul at the Havanna, Robert B. Campbell, which discloses great alarm at the Havanna, and thence instigated here, at the supposed design of the British Government to take possession of the island of Cuba—and a real design at the Havanna, to urge us to be beforehand with Britain by taking it ourselves. The Secretary of State tells the Consul, in a very trenchant tone, that we shall not permit Great Britain to take possession of Cuba. The real fact I suppose to be that the British Government are turning the screws upon the importation of slaves into the island, and that they can no longer in defiance of all

law and all treaty openly gorge their markets with twenty-five thousand bozal negroes every year. The Havanna has been and is one of the last inexpugnable haunts of the African slave-trade pirates.

5th. I spent again about three hours at the Department of State, examining the correspondence of Anthony Butler with the Department concerning his negotiation for the purchase of Texas. He was himself a speculator in Texan lands. First dispatched with the instructions of Van Buren to Poinsett of 29th August, 1829, his first letter is from Attakapas, 17th October, 1829, complaining of having been delayed on the road by sickness. On that same day Poinsett's letter of recall was signed, and a long jesuitical letter of instructions to himself as Chargé d'Affaires, to which office he had been appointed on the 12th of October. There is some mystification in the dates, probably explainable.

Butler's second letter is from Bexar, near the river Nueces, in Texas, November, 1829, and the third, 31st December, 1829, from the city of Mexico. Poinsett departed immediately after, loaded with execrations, and Guerrero's Government was in the agonies of dissolution.

I enquired of Mr. Hunter if any answer had been received from Robert Campbell, the Consul at the Havanna, to the secret instructions of 14th January last, and he brought me the answer, dated 9th February, 1843. He discredits entirely the secret informer's tale about the intention of the British Government to take possession of the island of Cuba, but joins in holy horror of the English abolitionists, and is in full confidential communication with General Valdez, the present Governor-General.

6th. In the Clerk's office, I asked of Mr. Burch an explanation of an entry on the printed journal of the House of 22d February last, p. 437—that respecting the great Latimer petition and five others, when presented by me, under the order of the House, of 29th March, 1842: "The reception of these petitions was objected to, and the question of reception was laid on the table." This entry was false. They were all referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, of which I furnished to Mr.

Burch the written proof in my own list of the petitions presented by me, which I had given to him with the petitions, and which he had returned to me. Burch admitted the facts, and, after some titubation, said that Kingman had made the entry, and that he had overlooked it by inadvertence in his revisal of the journal; and he promised to have the error corrected—which I fear he will not do.

7th. Mr. Child called on me, and gave me the first sheet of a pamphlet which he is publishing on the Texan Revolution and the late outrage in California. I had a long conversation with him on this and other consanguineous subjects, and I advised him to keep his eye steadily fixed on occurring events in the island of Cuba.

He told me that Webster had within a few days renewed his propositions to General Almonte for a cession by Mexico of six degrees of latitude along the shores of the Pacific, and the parallel of thirty-six across the continent, to strike the Arkansas River. This would include Monterey of California and Santa Fe of New Mexico.

I called upon General Almonte himself, and he told me that Mr. Webster had renewed the proposal for the cession the other day, when they exchanged the ratifications of the recent Convention for the payment of the adjudicated claims. There are rumors coming from New Orleans that Santa Anna had released a Judge Robinson, one of the Texan prisoners, taken in their late predatory expedition, and through him had made overtures towards the recognition of the independence of Texas. Almonte said he had no doubt that Judge Robinson had been released, but he believed not a word of his having been charged with any proposal for recognizing the independence of Texas; for he knew that Santa Anna considered the recovery of Texas as vital to the existence of the Mexican republic, and he had the day before yesterday received letters from Santa Anna, of very recent date, which gave no intimation of any such proposed negotiation, which he thinks there must have been if it had been contemplated, especially as he himself had been a prisoner in Texas with Santa Anna and was perfectly acquainted with all his views concerning that Territory.

I spoke of the rumors that Great Britain had offered her mediation between Texas and Mexico.

He said the British Consul had made an informal tender of such a mediation, but it had been rejected, with an expression of surprise that Great Britain should undertake to negotiate for the independence of Texas, knowing, as she did, that the revolt of that province had originated and was to be consummated solely for the re-institution of slavery, which had been abolished by Mexico.

There is now a rumor that Great Britain has offered Texas to mediate for her independence with Mexico, on condition that Texas shall abolish slavery. Almonte said he knew nothing of that. He promised to call on me before I leave the city.

I went to the Department of State, and looked again for about an hour into Anthony Butler's correspondence, but could not command my own attention, and came home.

8th. I finished the reading of the message of 22d February, 1843, on the taking of Monterey, Document 166, Twenty-Seventh Congress, Third Session, in answer to two resolutions offered by me on the 1st of February, under instruction of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, though not so noted on the journal of the House. On the 31st January I moved the resolutions in committee. Cushing alone voted against them, on the ground that they called for *all* the instructions to Captain Jones, and *all* his correspondence, without the usual exception of such as the President might deem it improper to communicate. When I moved the resolutions in the House, Granger immediately moved the previous question. Wise shuffled it off for that day by calling at the expiration of the morning hour for the orders of the day. The next day the previous question was carried. The yeas and nays were taken upon the resolutions—ayes, one hundred and sixteen, of whom twenty-three Democrats and only two Virginia Whigs, Stuart and Summers—nays, sixty-nine, of whom eleven Virginians, Barton and Powell, Whigs, of the number. Cushing asked to be and was excused from voting. The message notices the omission of the usual exception in the resolutions; asserts the right of the Executive to withhold the communication of papers which he deems im-

proper for publication; but says he has in this case communicated all, perceiving no necessity to withhold any. Tyler's arbitrary spirit and his flinching practice have been signally manifested throughout this whole transaction. The document itself is full of matter for future consideration and commentary. I spent again three hours at the Department of State, hurrying over Anthony Butler's correspondence, especially on the negotiations for Texas, with regard to which there are three classes of papers—public dispatches, and private letters to the Secretary of State, and private letters to President Jackson. There is no record of the President's letters to him. It was one of Jackson's practices to hold private and secret correspondences upon the most important public affairs, without leaving any copies of his own letters or instructions in the Departments—a most irregular, mischievous, and imminently dangerous exercise of power, for which the Constitution provides no remedy. One of its effects is that there is no trace of Anthony Butler till his appointment in August, 1829, as bearer of dispatches to Poinsett instructing him to open without delay a negotiation for the purchase of as much of the province of Texas as could be obtained. How he came to be at Washington in August, 1829, does not appear; but the negotiation was evidently instigated by him, and I have no doubt that he was deeply involved in Texan land-jobbing.

9th. Palm Sunday.

At the Second Presbyterian Church this morning, Mr. McCaner preached from Psalm lxxxiv. 11: "For the Lord God is a sun and shield: the Lord will give grace and glory: no good thing will He withhold from them that walk uprightly." The sermon began with the usual clerical, rather than critical, sweeping assertion of the immense superiority of the Psalms for sublimity over every merely human composition, a matter about which, after a rigorous comparison with the Odes of Pindar and Horace, especially the "Carmen Sæculare," I have some doubts. The preacher said, further, that this 84th Psalm was very beautiful, as it is in the Asiatic or Oriental style; that it was believed to be from the pen of David, written at the time of his expulsion from Jerusalem by the revolt of his unnatural

and rebellious son, Absalom—of which I perceive no evidence, external or internal. The Psalmist pours out his soul in ecstasies of desire to enjoy the privilege of devotion in the tabernacle of the Lord of Hosts. There is no allusion, direct or indirect, to the rebellion of Absalom; nor to a calamitous condition as the source of inspiration.

There was then some comment upon the aptitude of illustration representing God as at once a sun and a shield. A sun—the idolatry of nature, the sun of all the visible creation, the object of the greatest beneficence to man, the source of light and heat, all splendor to the eye; the parent of all production for nourishment and subsistence; believed by the ancient Parsees and the modern Parsees to be God himself, or the abode of the Deity. Then a shield—in those ancient days the emblem of protection from all danger, because an effectual guard against every weapon of assault, whether of sword, falchion, arrow, javelin, or spear, before the invention of fire-arms. Then the comforting promise of the gifts of grace and glory, and the delightful assurance that He will withhold no good thing from them that walk uprightly. The good-hearted Presbyterian seemed for the moment to have forgotten the atonement by the blood of the Lamb.

10th. This morning I groped again three hours into the dispatches of Anthony Butler at the Department of State. The threefold and double-dealing line of negotiation—1, for a commercial treaty; 2, indemnity for all sorts of claims; and 3, to strip Mexico of Texas, Santa Fe, and California, and annex them all to this Union—runs into the most curious details of Jackson and Tyler duplicity. Butler's letter of 17th June, 1835, to Forsyth, suppressed in the communication of 4th July, 1838, to the House of Representatives, is the "passe-partout" of the whole system, pursued with inflexible perseverance down to this hour.

11th. To concentrate my reflections upon one of the numerous projects floating in my brain, I began yesterday an address to my late constituents of the Twelfth and my future constituents of the present Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts, which, if I have the courage and perseverance to finish

it, I may deliver as a lecture before the commencement of the next session of Congress. I know not how this may succeed; the time is not propitious for me to speak to my countrymen unpalatable truths; but I wish to leave behind me something which may keep alive the flame of liberty and preserve it in that conflict between slavery and freedom, which is drawing to its crisis, and which is to brighten or to darken the condition of the human race upon earth.

12th. The work upon which I have at length undertaken to concentrate the employment of my leisure time and the result of my meditations, in the form of an address to my constituents, past and future, deepens in interest as I proceed, and widens in the list of topics which I propose to discuss. Already I perceive that one discourse of two hours' duration will not suffice to unburden my heart of the sentiments and opinions which I believe vital to the happiness, peace, and future liberty of this great people. Whether anything that I can do or say will avail to save and preserve them from the dangers with which they are beset, or to avert the catastrophe impending over them, an all-wise Providence will decide. The prospect of the future is deeply discouraging; but despondency would surrender the cause, and exertion, even if fruitless, will be sanctified by the motive for using it. I went and smothered three hours more at the Department of State in rapid survey of Anthony Butler's correspondence. This man was, in the last war with Great Britain, Lieutenant-Colonel and then Colonel of the twenty-eighth regiment of infantry, appointed as a citizen of Kentucky. He says in one of his letters that he is a native of South Carolina, and that he was many years an intimate and confidential friend of Jackson, under whom he served in the New Orleans campaign. His appointment in 1829, as bearer of dispatches to Poinsett, and afterwards as Chargé d'Affaires to Mexico, was as a citizen of Mississippi; and he was at that very time a jobber in Texan lands. His looseness of moral principle and political profligacy are disclosed in several of his letters; his vanity and self-sufficiency in others. He boasts of his address in managing Lucas Alaman by mystifying a little, and, while under the shield of diplomatic privilege, brutally

insulted the Mexican Minister of War, General Tornel, by scurrilous and insolent letters, challenging him to fight a duel. Tornel's conduct in return was rather tame than spirited. Santa Anna demanded Butler's recall; but Jackson had already dismissed him.

Mr. Hunter showed me also a dispatch from Joseph Eve, Chargé d'Affaires in Texas, telling strange and incredible stories of suspicions and distrust among the Texans of their President, Houston.

13th. To the office of the National Intelligencer. I saw Mr. Gales there, somewhat perplexed by the publication of Mr. Webster's letter to Edward Everett, recently dispatched, and which he is instructed to read to Lord Aberdeen and give him a copy of it if desired. Gales asked me if it was usual in negotiations to publish in the newspapers controversial notes before they have been received by the parties to whom they are addressed. I told him it was not usual heretofore, but that of late years all negotiation is little more than a perpetual appeal to public opinion, and the negotiators little more than advocates before the tribunal of the civilized world. I referred him to the case of the Spanish Minister Pizarro, who in 1818 addressed to George W. Erving, Minister of the United States in Spain, a manifesto against General Jackson's invasion of Florida, equivalent to a declaration of war, and, before waiting for our reception of it, published it in a Hamburg gazette, whence it was circulated all over Europe; in return for which, my answer of instructions to Erving was communicated to Congress and published all over the Union before it could reach the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, as the counterpart to his manifesto. Other instructions of more recent occurrence were referred to, in the case of Gorostiza's pamphlet, published here in 1836, of General Cass's publication of his preposterous protest against the ratification by France of the Quintuple Treaty, and the triangular debates between the British Parliament, the French Legislative Chambers, and the North American Congress—like a game of chess played by correspondence between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, or between Nova Zembla and New Zealand.

14th. Another day of solitude, rain, and gloom, with the exception of three hours' visit to the Department of State. There the progress of my enquiries into the biography of Anthony Butler and of Andrew Jackson's projected dismemberment of Mexico is disturbed and protracted by the daily occurrence of new incidents, which consume the time and divert my attention from the main object of my pursuit. I found at the office this day four different weekly newspapers in the month of March, down to the 29th—1, the Civilian and Galveston City Gazette, published at Galveston; 2, the Telegraph and Texas Register, at Houston; 3, the Texan and Brazos Farmer, at Washington; and, 4, the Western Advocate, at the city of Austin—a new paper, of which I had before seen the first number. These papers are of opposite political parties—are highly excited partisans for and against their President, Samuel Houston, all passionately devoted to the lone star of Texas, all of the Catonian school, exterminating war upon Mexico, and all panting for annexation to the United States. T. W. Gilmer's letter is in one of them, with a warm commendation of its object and argument, an earnest exhortation to the Texans to gather up their forces for a renewed application to our Congress at their next long session, with assurance of kind support from our amiable President, and an easy disposal of the opposition of Johnny Q. Dr. Robinson was at Galveston with the compromise propositions of Santa Anna, which will be rejected with disdain, and Rusk, the appointed Major-General, was breathing blood and slaughter for the invasion of Mexico, if he could but get hold of the law for his own appointment. Mr. Hunter furnished me a new map of Texas, Austin's, published by Tanner in 1840, and showed me another dispatch from Joseph Eve, dated at Galveston, 29th March. In the midst of all her vices, difficulties, and troubles, Texas is swelling with incredible rapidity into a formidable slave State, which Mexico can never recover, and from the contamination of whose slavery nothing can save this Union short of a special interposition of Providence.

Mr. Hunter produced to me also this day a private note, dated 25th July, 1835, signed A. J., and directed to the then Secretary of State, Forsyth, proposing additional instructions

to Butler to offer half a million more for the line of the Rio del Norte from its mouth to the thirty-seventh degree of latitude, and thence straight to the Pacific. This note was the seminal principle of the instruction from Forsyth to Butler of 6th August, 1835, published in Document 42, p. 18, of message 3d October, 1837. In the regular examination of Butler's dispatches, I have only reached his letter of 25th May, 1833, referring to and answering one from him of 24th March, 1833, which is not at the Department.

15th. "Come, gentle Spring, ethereal mildness, come."

She is here, and brings to me uninterrupted leisure, instead of which this daily record, my brooding address to my constituents, and my researches at the Department of State, fill to the brim every vacant hour, and keep me on the rack of overplied occupation, as laborious as at the busiest period of the session of Congress.

Meanwhile my correspondence runs into irredeemable arrears, and my private affairs and impending duties are neglected. One thing at a time, was the maxim of John De Witt. Too many irons in the fire at once, is the fatal flaw in my economy of time. It was past one o'clock this afternoon when I reached Hunter's chamber at the Department of State. He was not there. In pursuing the correspondence of Anthony Butler, I find a letter from him to President Jackson, of 25th May, 1831, extracts only from which were communicated to H. R. U. S. in Document 351, p. 382, where a line of stars represents two most important pages of the dispatch. Jackson, in a letter to him, had complained of not hearing from him later than the preceding November. This dispatch is a long and labored apology for delay in the Texan negotiation, but he proves—1, that this delay had been expressly enjoined by Van Buren's instructions to him, as well as by his own convictions of expediency; and, 2, he proves the shortness of Jackson's memory in pretending that he had received nothing from him of later date than November, by referring to a publication in the Washington Telegraph, of a paper transmitted by Butler to him, with a dispatch dated in January.

This is one of the numberless instances of Jackson's reckless

disregard to truth, when the impatience of his temper betrays the frailty of his memory. Jackson's passion for the acquisition of Texas was intense. Butler was a Texan land-jobber, who treated Jackson as he boasts of having treated Alaman, the Mexican Secretary of State, and negotiator with him—"mystified a little, so as to leave him not without hope." Alaman and Butler played a game of tame cheating, in which each intended to overreach the other. Butler mystified with Alaman, and Alaman mystified with Butler. Alaman was the shrewdest knave of the two. When Butler wrote this dispatch he had just discovered that Alaman had made him his dupe, and he, with ludicrous gravity, discloses his first doubts of Mexican sincerity. He advises Jackson to insult Montoya, who is coming out to supersede Tornel as the Mexican Chargé d'Affaires, and give him to understand that Mexico was of very little account with us. Edward Livingston took the place of Martin Van Buren as Secretary of State on the 27th of May, 1831, and his correspondence with Butler began with a sharp altercation about some irregularity in Butler's accounts.

The Galveston Civilian of 29th March, the comment on Robinson's mission and on T. W. Gilmer's letter, are to be remembered.

17th. The address to my constituents, and my investigations daily at the Department of State into public relations with Mexico and Texas, all have one object—the contribution of my last public labors to the cause of human freedom in its present and impending conflict with slavery. The field is too vast for me. An address of two hours, which I am proposing to prepare, will scarcely skim the surface of the subject; and the dangers of the undertaking are more appalling than its toils. But I must pass on. Sursum corda!

The preacher whom I heard at St. John's Church yesterday afternoon, Mr. Shaw, called on me this morning, and had with me a conversation of more than two hours. He is a native of Lexington, Massachusetts, and is now a settled minister of the Episcopal Church at Philadelphia, and a Professor of the High School in that city. His grandfather was an inhabitant of Lexington when the Revolutionary War commenced with the

bloody conflict at that spot, and shared in it. He was also at the battle of Bunker's Hill, and an ardent patriot of the Revolution, and lived and died a country farmer at Lexington. He had always a strong and bitter prejudice against England and everything English, and once, in riding down to Cambridge with his grandson when a boy, and pointing out to him the University buildings as they passed along, the boy, seeing the Episcopal church on the other side of the square, enquired what that was, and he answered, "That is the Tory meeting-house." Mr. Shaw told me other anecdotes of his own life, and made numerous enquiries relating to mine, which I readily answered. He said it was so dark yesterday afternoon that he could not see to read a written sermon, which he had in his pocket, and was obliged to extemporize; which he did. He enquired much as to my practice of extempore speaking, which I acknowledged was wretchedly imperfect, but which yet was such as anxious labor and unwearied pains have been able to make it. I considered it as an art, for the gift of which the seeds are given by nature, to be cultivated by intense study and matured by frequent practice and long experience—my own original portion of the seed being next to nothing, my cultivation of it inadequate, my experience much interrupted, and my practice, like everything about me, unsystematic, confused, and drowsy.

At the Department of State my progress with Anthony Butler is provokingly slow.

18th. In the course of my address I find occasion every now and then to state a fact for the authentication of which I must have recourse to a document, and that puts me upon a chase which always consumes hours, and often leaves me disappointed, having found everything that I did not want and failed to find precisely what I did. At the Department of State, this day, I was disconcerted in the examination of Anthony Butler's negotiations, from the condition of his correspondence. The negotiation for the commercial treaty was open and ostensible. Poinsett had, on the 12th of January, 1828, concluded with the then Mexican Government two separate treaties—one of commerce and one of limits. From the time of the Mexican Decla-

ration of Independence she had assumed the boundary agreed upon by us with Spain in the Florida Treaty, as the existing boundary between her and us; to which we had assented in 1824. Poinsett, under instructions from H. Clay, approved by me, had proposed and urged the purchase of Texas, for one million of dollars—which Mexico had rejected, and refused to conclude a treaty of commerce, unless with another confirming the Florida Treaty line boundary. The two treaties were to be ratified and their ratifications exchanged within four months from their dates; but they were not. When Jackson came in, after some time the negotiations were renewed, to revise the commercial treaty; but Jackson proposed anew the purchase of Texas, for which he authorized the offer of five millions of dollars, while at the same time Sam Houston went into Texas to kindle an internal insurrection and separate Texas from Mexico. Poinsett was recalled, and Butler was charged with the double negotiation. Poinsett's treaty of limits was re-concluded, and his commercial treaty revised and altered. The two new treaties were signed by Butler, and on the part of Mexico by Alaman and Manzino, on the 5th of April, 1831. They were to be ratified and the ratifications exchanged within one year from the date, and on the 5th of April, 1832, Jackson issued his proclamation declaring that the ratifications of both treaties had been exchanged.

19th. Mr. George Brown, the Commissioner to the Sandwich Islands, was here this morning, and I had a long conversation with him upon public affairs. He is a speaking example of the chemical affinity between power, patronage, place, and political opinions. He came here two years ago a flaming Harrison Whig, devoted soul and body to Daniel Webster, and shaping all his opinions to the pattern held up by him. He was then also a great admirer of me, and expected, perhaps, some aid to obtain a place which might be suitable for him. He commenced reporter and letter-writer for sundry Northern Whig newspapers, and has adhered faithfully to Webster through all the events, vicissitudes of men and things, and disappointments of the late years. He clings faithfully, too, to Caleb Cushing, and insists that if he would offer himself as a

candidate for election in the Third District he would be elected by a large majority.

Mr. Samuel Crepps, of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, came and had some conversation with me. I received a letter from Seth M. Gates, explaining the address to the people of the free States against the annexation of Texas. Mr. Seaton sent me also a manuscript sent to him for publication in the Intelligencer by Mr. Horace Everett, but without signature, on the controversy concerning the right of search. Mr. Everett requested it might be perused by me before publication, and in the piece itself there is a call, rather earnest, upon me, without naming me, to give to the public my opinions on the subject. I called at the Intelligencer office and returned to Mr. Seaton Everett's manuscript, and gave him also the Liberty Press extra, sent to me by Mr. Gates, and requested him to publish in the Intelligencer the joint address to the people of the free States against the annexation of Texas; which he promised. I could not reach the Department of State this day.

It was the 15th of July, 1832, that Butler delivered to Alaman the paper of proposals for the purchase of Texas, of which he never transmitted any copy to his own Government. Within a week after, Alaman was removed from office, and a revolution took place in the government of Mexico. On the 25th of July, 1832, Butler addressed a note to Monasterio, Chief Clerk in the Mexican Department of Foreign Affairs, announcing that President Jackson had proclaimed the treaty of limits as the law of the land, and was ready to appoint a Commissioner on the part of the United States to run jointly the boundary line with a Mexican Commissioner, but that he thought a revisal and new line of boundary was very desirable.

20th. Going to the Department of State, I met Mr. Caleb Cushing, who has returned here after a short visit to his late constituents. Before he went, he gave out that he would offer himself as a candidate for re-election; but after he got home his heart failed him, and he requested his friends not to put him in nomination. But he still considers himself a public man, and, though thrice rejected by the Senate on the nomination for Secretary of the Treasury, he evidently still relies upon

the fixed fact, as the "open sesame" to the precious vaults. He told me he expected to remain here about ten days.

Mr. Webster returned from his short visit to Marshfield last evening.

At the Department, Mr. Hunter gave me to read a late dispatch from Mr. Picket, Chargé d'Affaires at Lima, in Peru, written in September last, communicating the fact of Captain Jones's departure from Lima, and of his intention to take San Francisco if Mexico and the United States should prove to be at war, or if it should turn out, as was rumored, that Mexico had ceded California to Great Britain. All which Mr. Picket approves.

Another letter from Allen A. Hall, written last December at Caraccas, mentions the arrival there of a Mexican Commissioner bound to Lima, in Peru, where a Congress of South Americans were convening, said to be to form a league of defence against the grasping designs of the United States upon Mexico. Hall is Chargé d'Affaires of the United States to the republic of Venezuela, and thinks this league against our usurpations very ridiculous. He says it is not at all approved in Venezuela, and they certainly will not send a Commissioner to the Assembly.

21st. I received this morning, under cover from my son at Boston, to whom it was addressed for me, a letter from Edward Everett in London, answering mine to him of 13th March, on the fortieth day from that on which it was written. My letter was acceptable to him; but whether available is left for after-consideration. He sends me a printed copy of his answer to Mr. Schofield and the American bond-holders.

At the Department of State I crept along with pace of snail in the examination of Anthony Butler's correspondence. In 1833 Santa Anna broke up the federal constitution, and with the aid of his bayonets was elected President. Mr. Butler is consulted by persons whom he does not name, to know if the Government or capitalists in the United States will make a loan to Mexico; he says not for how much. He advises to turn it into a bargain for the sale of Texas, or a loan upon mortgage, which they will certainly never redeem. He addresses

this in a private letter to Jackson, who instructs Livingston to reject at once the loan, and to write forthwith to Butler to bring his negotiation to a close, for that on the 1st of April the American colonists in Cochuita are to hold a Convention and declare their independence—after which, he says, it will be useless to treat with Mexico for Texas. Livingston instructs Butler accordingly; but Butler hangs on. This precise knowledge of Jackson, to a day, of the intended design of the colonists to declare their independence as early as April, 1833, was suppressed in the document communicated to the House in 1838.

22d. My address to my constituents absorbs three-fourths of my time, and I have reached three-fourths of a two hours' address, and have yet scarcely entered upon my subject. I should have laid out for an address of three hours; and even then my stream would have overflowed its banks. It spreads and widens before me, though I am constantly laboring to dam it in. It is much the same with Anthony Butler's negotiation for Texas. For six long years he was mystifying Jackson with the positive assurance that he was within a hair's breadth of the object, and sure of success, while Jackson was all the time wriggling along and snapping at the bait, like a mackerel after a red rag, and there is not one line to show that Butler ever made to any one in Mexico the specific proposal that he was instructed to make at first, or the enormous stride upon it authorized by Forsyth's letter of 6th August, 1835. The most impressive conclusion that I draw from the comparison between the manuscript and the printed documents is the unscrupulous suppression, upon a call from the House for all the correspondence, at a crisis when the President had actually asked of Congress authority to wage war, of every scrap of paper which it did not suit to make public. It proves how utterly inefficient the reservation of the power of declaring war to Congress is as a check upon the will of the President to wage it. My progress in examining Butler's correspondence at the Department of State is so slow that I shall be obliged to break it up without getting half through. The steamer Britannia, which brought Edward Everett's answer to my letter of 13th March, brought also the reports of a long and searching debate in the British Parlia-

ment upon the Ashburton Treaty, terminated, after a pitched battle between Lord Palmerston and Sir Robert Peel, by the failure of a quorum in the House.

24th. I called at the Department of State, and saw Mr. Webster, and told him the answer I had received from Edward Everett to my letter of 13th March. I spoke of the recent debates in Parliament on the Ashburton Treaty, terminating in the House of Commons by the Speaker's adjourning the House for lack of a quorum. I spoke of the lucky discovery of Mr. Oswald's map together with that of Mr. Jay at New York, and of their blowing up Jared Sparks's impostures in mousing among the papers of that old juggler Vergennes. Mr. Webster lent me some Morning Chronicles, containing reports of the debate in the Commons, and a dispatch and a confidential letter from Edward Everett about the maps, the debate, and that gibbet-bird, United States geologist Featherstonhaugh.

25th. Dr. Heap was here again this morning, very anxious about the prospect of his obtaining some appointment for subsistence in his old age. He has been shabbily treated—removed from his quiet sinecure at Tunis to make way for W. B. Hodgson, and appointed Dragoman at Constantinople—that is, translator from and to the Turkish language, of which he never understood one single word; still, he went to Constantinople with his family, and at Malta, on his way, learnt that he was superseded, and a young man, a nephew of Commodore Porter, was appointed in his place. He came home, leaving his family at Constantinople, and now must go again to fetch them thence.

I told him I had spoken of him and recommended his case to Mr. Webster, though I knew not with what success. He said Mr. Webster had received him with coldness, and Mr. Tyler with much more; and upon his representing the unceremonious manner in which he had been displaced from his office at Tunis, Mr. Tyler, in a tone of fretful uneasiness, had said, "I cannot remove my friend Payne"—meaning John Howard Payne, the histrionic parasite, who was here all the summer of 1841, currying favor by writing niminy-piminy meretricious letters of courtly adulation of John Tyler, to be published in the New York Herald. This was the sycophant, and this the

service for which "my friend Payne" was appointed Consul at Tunis, instead of an old public servant of forty years, with a large family, to linger about the world for a beggarly subsistence.

After drudging all the morning upon the sickening task of my proposed address, I staggered to the Department of State, and enquired of Mr. Derrick for several notes of remonstrance of the former French Minister, Pontois. He gave me to read three of his letters to the Secretary of State in 1837–38–39, and of Forsyth's answers to them, with the last of which there was a list of all the laws in the slave-holding States, proscriptive of free colored mariners. I asked Mr. Derrick for a copy of this list—which he promised to have made out and to give me to-morrow. Returned to the chronology of Anthony Butler's negotiation for Texas—my progress exceedingly slow.

26th. Dr. Heap called on me again this morning, anxiously hoping for some cheering news from me. I could give him nothing, but some cold, vague, indefinite promise to remember him, from Mr. Webster. He was specially desirous of being reinstated in his office of surgeon in the navy, and solicitous for my opinion whether he might hope to obtain it. The chance is a caprice of Captain Tyler, who, I suspect, has a grudge against Heap for having been too much delighted with the Bey's abolition of slavery. Mr. Heap said he must go in two or three days to embark for Constantinople to fetch his family home.

At the Department of State, Mr. Derrick gave me the list of unconstitutional State laws against free colored seamen. I copied Jackson's endorsement upon Anthony Butler's project of purchasing Texas with a bribe of half a million of dollars to the confessor of Santa Anna's sister. Jackson seems to have seen that this might be a bait thrown out by Santa Anna himself to get into his hands (the means) to impute offers of corruption by Jackson. There is color for this suspicion, from the fact that Hamilton, the Texan diplomatist, did secretly, as he thought, make the same identical offer of half a million to Santa Anna himself, who immediately published the letter and divulged the fact. I find also in Butler's correspondence that the

Mexican Minister Tornel, after his return home from his mission here, published a pamphlet in which he stated expressly that on his landing at New York the agent of Colonel Thomas Benton came twice to him, with numberless other speculators, to treat with him for Texan lands.

27th. At the office of the Clerk of the House I enquired for many documents, but found only the message of 28th February last, enclosing the correspondence of the Spanish Minister, Argaiz, with the Secretary of State, Webster, relating to the case of the schooner Amistad. It was referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs; but the papers were sent immediately to the printer's, and the committee never saw them. The correspondence is a fire-brand, over which Tyler casts a bucket of cold water by recommending to Congress to refund the salvage claimed by Lieutenant Gedney; but Gedney's claim supposes that the schooner was Spanish property when taken by him; it was the property of the Mendi captors, and ought to have been restored to them. When will the whole truth be told concerning this case? If I dare to tell it, I shall be arrested before I have proceeded three steps on the way—perhaps charged with treason, perhaps expelled from the House.

28th. I finished at last the address to my constituents, and am so much dissatisfied with it that I very much doubt whether I shall ever make any use of it. There is not more than one-fourth part of the matter that should be included in it. There should be unity of purpose, symmetry of parts, concentration of argument, sharpness of conclusion, and impulse to action, in such a discourse. Of all this there is a lamentable deficiency in my address. If I had time, perseverance, and energy to write four such, and then methodize and abridge the four into one, it might be of some use. But I have neither time, nor strength, nor health, nor spirits, nor manhood, to go through that process.

I must now turn my thoughts and my remnant of life to other objects. I am engaged to deliver a discourse to the Historical Society of Massachusetts on the 29th of next month, on the New England Confederation of the seventeenth century; half bound to address the Society of Alumni of Harvard Uni-

versity the last week in August next; and invited, by a letter received yesterday from Peter S. Du Ponceau, Thomas Sergeant, William B. Reed, W. Duck, and A. Langdon Elwyn, a Committee of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to deliver an historical discourse before that institution at any time during the present year that may be agreeable to me. In the decay of body and mind growing upon me with inexorable speed, I lack resolution to say no to all these propositions and to retire from the world of business to that of repose.

BOSTON, *May* 6th.—I have accepted an invitation from the Massachusetts Historical Society to deliver, on the 29th of this month, a discourse before them, and I have come here, without and before my family, for the purpose of preparing it. I have paid so little attention to that portion of our history that I scarcely knew the sources at which the principal facts relating to it were to be found; nor have I any clue to the aspect in which it should be viewed for any useful purpose at the present time. Pope makes it a point of self-glorification

> "That not in fancy's maze he wander'd long,
> But stoop'd to truth, and moralized his song."

I believe that moral principle should be the alpha and omega of all human composition, poetry or prose, scientific or literary, written or spoken, and emphatically of every discourse. An epic poem, a drama, pastoral, georgic, a fable, ode, sonnet, or epigram, should alike spring from one vital seminal principle of morals; and so should every history, dissertation, treatise, discourse, or epistle. Pen should never be put to paper but for the discharge of some duty to God or man.

How, then, shall I best discharge the duty I have undertaken, of discoursing to my co-associates of the Historical Society and to my fellow-citizens on the New England Confederation of 1643? What was that confederation, its uses, its origin, its history, its termination, its influence upon the colonies between whom it was formed, upon their relations with the Indians, with the other English colonies, with England, the mother-country, with the neighboring colonies of other countries, and with the rest of mankind? And from the result of all these

enquiries what sound and useful moral principle can be deduced for the entertainment and instruction of a listening auditory, and of readers hereafter?

I called at the chambers of the Historical Society. The outer door was locked, with a notice that the librarian might be found at No. 15 Warren Street. It was the residence of Mr. Joseph B. Felt, whom I found at home, where I also saw his wife. He accompanied me to the chambers of the Historical Society, and found for me Mather's Magnalia, the second volume of Hazard's collection of State Papers, and three folio volumes of manuscripts, which he supposed might assist me in my enquiries. He lent me the keys of the chambers, and promised to call and see me there on Monday.

7th. Dr. Frothingham preached this morning from 1 Corinthians i. 18. The whole verse reads, "For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God." But the text was only, "The preaching of the cross is the power of God;" and the sermon was a most ingenious and deeply-pathetic declamation upon the power of the cross as a symbol of the sufferings of Christ and of the doctrine of Christianity. The use of this symbol has been one of the sharpest points of controversy between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. It has been heretofore a source of much internal dissension in the Episcopal Church of England, and is even now revived with ominous agitation both in England and here. It extends even beyond the bounds of the Episcopal Church; and I was somewhat surprised at the vivacity and zeal with which Dr. Frothingham seems to have entered into it. Certain it is that the writings of St. Paul, from which the Doctor cited several most impressive passages, countenance a reverence for the cross, which endangers the indulgence of idolatry, as all substitution of attachment to the symbol for the love of the object represented is prone to do. Of these trappings of Roman Catholic worship the Church of England has discarded many, and retained more than enough. She has retained the sign of the cross only in the administration of the rite of baptism, where it is made by the finger of the priest over the forehead of the infant, leaving no trace of it behind.

But there is at this very moment a bitter struggle in the Episcopal Church of England to return to the emblematic worship of Popery. There was a passage at the close of the Doctor's discourse which alluded without censure to the Roman Catholic worship of the Virgin Mother of Christ, which belongs to the same school of the adoration of the cross. After the morning service, Dr. Frothingham administered the communion with admirable and affecting solemnity.

8th. I went to the Emancipator office, and had a long conversation with Mr. Leavitt. He is to embark next Tuesday in the steamer for Liverpool, to attend as a delegate from the American Anti-Slavery Society the second triennial meeting of the World's Convention for the Promotion of the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-Trade throughout the earth.

I urged him very earnestly to observe with unremitting care the movements of the British Government with regard to Mexico and Texas. I told him I distrusted them altogether; I believed their real policy far from desiring to favor the abolition of slavery, either in our Southern States or in Texas. I suspect, on the contrary, that for a suitable equivalent they will readily acquiesce both in the annexation of Texas to this Union and to the perpetuation of slavery here, to weaken and to rule us.

12th. The National Intelligencer of last Tuesday announces that on the preceding day Mr. Daniel Webster resigned the office of Secretary of State, and that the charge of the Department ad interim was taken by the Attorney-General, Legaré; and that on the same day Caleb Cushing was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to China, in the place of Edward Everett, who has declined the appointment. The reason of Mr. Webster's resignation is not explained.

13th. I had a long visit from Mr. Joshua Leavitt. Long conversation with him. I urged him to make close observations, so far as he should have opportunity, to ascertain the real policy of the British Government on this subject, entertaining, as I do, strong doubts of a compromise between their commercial and their moral policy, much too obsequious to the cause of slavery for real fidelity to the cause of justice and

of man. I desired him to say to Arnold Buffum and to Joseph Sturge, from me, that I intended to have written to each of them, by him, but am prevented by my indisposition; and I entreated him, as long as he should be there, to keep his eye fixed upon Texas, Mexico, California, and especially on the island of Cuba.

15th. Mr. Savage, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, called, and I had a long conversation with him, chiefly upon a question fit only to make a learned body ridiculous, by forming a subject for divided opinions, and even of controversy —that is, on the day for the ceremony.

The day of the Confederation was 19th May, 1643. The day chosen for the celebration is the 29th of May, because at that time the difference between the calendars was only ten days. But the difference is now two days more; and I told Mr. Savage that as the 19th of May of old style of the present year is the 31st of the new style, I thought they should take the 31st for the celebration. But he and Judge Davis have settled the point between themselves upon principle. He argued it with me, astronomically and politically, with such lucid illustration that I lost the thread of his syllogism, and finally did not understand him at all.

I went to visit Dr. Frothingham, who was not at home, and I called on George Bancroft. I found Robert C. Winthrop with him; and of course we talked history. They were endeavoring to ascertain the relation between Sir John Temple, Winthrop's grandfather, and the Grenville family—of which I was surprised to see Winthrop apparently not at all informed.

Mr. Bancroft had a number of manuscript letters, which Edward Everett has collected for him, from Burke, Fox, Champion, Dr. Franklin, Arthur Lee, etc., written in 1774, and among the rest a copy of Thomas Hutchinson's account of his private interview with King George the Third, in July, 1774, on Hutchinson's first arrival from this country. He was introduced by Lord Dartmouth, and was upwards of two hours with the King. Much of the dialogue was upon the detection and exposure by Dr. Franklin of Hutchinson's letters; upon which the King said that there was not a word in them at which any

just exception could be taken. Bancroft told me that from this paper, and all the other disclosures which he has obtained of the real character of Hutchinson, he had come to the same conclusion that my father did—that he was a bad man.

QUINCY, 19th.—Having no time to spare for the composition of my address for the Massachusetts Historical Society, and deeming it necessary for the filling of the time allotted to the discourse that it should consist of thirty-two pages, occupying two hours, or thereabouts, I begin the day with that labor, and prescribing to myself to write two pages each day till I get through. I began, therefore, this morning, as soon after rising, dressing, and making my fire as was practicable, and, with the interval of half an hour for breakfast, kept incessant alternate reading and writing till the village bell rung for noon, before my task for the day was completed.

In the course of my treatment of the subject I was this day brought to the consideration of the character of Roger Williams and the establishment of the Colony of Rhode Island. It has in recent times become a sort of literary fashion to extol the character of Roger Williams by disparaging those of the Massachusetts (people) with whom he contended. I have suspected that there is in this much injustice; and the more minutely I examine his controversy with them the more firmly this opinion fixes itself in my mind. Roger Williams was a Welshman. He came sharpened for controversy, a polemical porcupine from Oxford, an extreme puritan, quilled with all the quarrelsome metaphysical divinity of the age. He arrived eight months after Winthrop and his company, and began by preaching at Salem that the Charter was of no avail, because the King had no power to grant the lands, as they belonged to the Indians; and that the Church was no true Church, because she had not proclaimed her repentance for having held communion with the Church of England before the emigration. These doctrines struck at the vitals of the Massachusetts Colony, civil and ecclesiastical. If there is anything surprising in their treatment of him, it was their lenity towards him. His principle of liberty of conscience—admirable in itself—was utterly at variance with itself in his excommunication of the Colonial Church

for not excommunicating the Episcopal Church of England. Altogether, he was a mere boute-feu, and they were amply justified in getting rid of him. I see that Bancroft tells his story with extreme partiality, to puff him up, not only to a saint and a hero, but to a transcendent genius, a Newton, Kepler, or Copernicus. His principle of toleration was the inspiration of a strong mind, and his success in settling a small colony, where it was carried into practice, gives lustre to his name. The recent revolution in Rhode Island is the euthanasia of his system.

20th. I am still entangled with the character and history of Roger Williams and his democracy of the Providence Plantations. I fear to do him injustice in the anxious desire to do justice to his adversaries. I cannot but think him the aggressor against the Massachusetts Colony from the day of his arrival. I cannot acquit him of the ambition of supplanting John Cotton as the High-Priest of the Colony. He shuffled and equivocated in apologizing to the General Court for his first treatise against the Charter and offering it to them to be burnt. His excommunications were all intolerant, his refusal to take the oath of allegiance was factious, his preaching against it seditious. He appears to have prevaricated on the subject of his conversion to the Anabaptist denomination; and his last controversial writings against the Quakers might as well have been omitted. Yet his inflexible and finally triumphant principle of universal toleration makes him a name and a praise for all future time. I see sharp points shooting out from every side of the subject.

27th. I came in my address to the parallel between the New England Confederacy of 1643 and the North American Confederacy of 1774. I had some hopes in approaching this topic to bring up some interest with it; but it sinks under me. Not one of the motives which stimulated the puritans of 1643 had the slightest influence in actuating the Confederacy of 1774. The parties to the New England Union were homogeneous; those of the North American Union were not only of heterogeneous but of hostile elements; and in the latter there was the ingredient of slavery, which poisoned the whole composition.

I have touched upon it in this address, but in revisal propose to strike out all that I have written relating to it.

This afternoon I rode with my daughter and her son Charles to Weymouth, to enquire of the state of Mrs. Mercy Tufts, who has been very dangerously ill with the erysipelas. We saw her two daughters, Mercy and Susan, who told us she was somewhat better, though still confined to her bed. We rode home with a sprinkling rain, and the evening was wintry cold. This family of Tufts are all that now remain of my childhood's remembrance of Weymouth. Some of the earliest of my recollections are there, and the localities which remain unchanged bring them back with a pungency for which I scarcely know how to account. I have no such reminiscences in Boston, because everything there is changed; but spots of the old road through Braintree and Weymouth are precisely as they were seventy years ago, and a return to them seems to sweep away the interval of time and to make me again a child. But there is not one individual of my grandfather Smith's blood now living in Weymouth.

29th. New England Confederacy of 1643.

Boston.—At nine this morning I went with Charles into Boston, and we stopped at Dr. Frothingham's. There, by a mistake rather ludicrous, I was shown into his study, where were assembled a number of persons, who I supposed were the Massachusetts Historical Society, though I could not conceive how they came there. Mr. Peter C. Brooks was presiding, and they settled their treasurer's accounts, made all their annual elections, and chose the Rev. Ezra Stiles Gannett as a member of their corporation in the place of the late Dr. William E. Channing, before I discovered that it was a meeting of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society. When they had finished their business, President Quincy, who was there, took me in his barouche to the chambers of the Historical Society, where a meeting well attended was held. The President, James Savage, moved that the meeting should adjourn to his house at eight o'clock this evening, and gave a general invitation to all the members present to attend there. A procession was then formed, in which I walked with Presi-

dent Savage to the First Church, in Chauncy Place, where I delivered the address to the Massachusetts Historical Society, in celebration of the second centennial anniversary of the New England Colonial Confederacy of 1643. The performances began precisely at eleven o'clock, with an appropriate prayer by Dr. Frothingham, the minister of the church. Then Psalm cvii. of the New England version of 1640 was sung. I then delivered my address, beginning at twenty minutes past eleven and closing at five minutes past one, one hour and three-quarters, omitting about one-eighth of what I had written. It was very well received, and there was no manifestation of what I most dreaded, a sense of weariness on the part of the auditory. The attention was general and unremitting to the last. The house was well filled, but not crowded—excepting the members of the Society, about as many women as men. After the address, Psalm xliv. of the New England version was sung, and the benediction was pronounced by Dr. Frothingham. Mr. William Beach Lawrence, Mr. John Jay, and several other gentlemen were introduced to me as delegates from the Historical Societies of New York, Connecticut, and Maine. At four in the afternoon we left Dr. Frothingham's and returned immediately to Quincy. Mr. Buckingham's son, part editor of the Courier, asked the loan of my manuscript, to report an abstract from it; but I had promised to reserve it for the Society. My voice held out better than I expected; but I excused myself from attendance at the President's evening party.

QUINCY, 31st.—Mr. Lewis Tappan and Mr. Andrews visited me this morning. Mr. Tappan had with him the New Orleans Bee of 15th and 16th May, containing several long articles sounding the trumpet of alarm at the symptoms recently manifested in Texas of a strong party with a fixed design to abolish slavery. The Bee has the name of Henry Clay on its first page, nominated as its candidate for the Presidency, but its groans at the prospect of abolition in Texas are agonizing. Mr. Andrews is a native of Massachusetts, but at present an inhabitant of Texas. He is the person mentioned in the letter from Joseph Eve to the Secretary of State, shown to me by Mr. Hunter on the 14th of April. Eve related that this person had come

from Austin to Galveston to make a speech in public urging the expediency and necessity of abolishing slavery, but that an assemblage of people had gone to him at his lodgings, taken him by force, and landed him at Virginia Point, on the opposite bank of the river. Mr. Andrews says this was true, but that the men who committed this outrage upon him were a gang of not more than twenty persons, not at all authorized or supported by the people, and that he afterwards returned to Galveston, openly avowing his abolition opinions, without meeting any ill treatment or opposition. He says he knows that the Texan President, Houston, is in favor of abolition. He is now about to embark in the steamer Caledonia, to-morrow, for England, with a view to obtain the aid of the British Government to the cause. Mr. Tappan asked me if I would furnish him with letters of recommendation; which I declined, having no correspondent in England with whom I could take the liberty; but I bade him God speed, and told him that I believed the freedom of this country and of all mankind depended upon the direct, formal, open, and avowed interference of Great Britain to accomplish the abolition of slavery in Texas; but that I distrusted the sincerity of the present British Administration in the anti-slavery cause. Mr. Andrews offered to write to me to inform me how his propositions may be received—which I accepted. Mr. Tappan told me he had himself been urged to go to England, and asked my advice what he should do. I declined advising, but said I wished he would go, were it only for the possibility that he might contribute to advance the cause.

June 8th. Mr. Forbes, of Milton, called on me this forenoon, and introduced to me a Mr. Delano, recently returned from China. He speaks doubtfully of the results of the late war of Great Britain against China. My son returned before dinner from the Whig Convention at Worcester, where yesterday they first nominated John Davis as the Whig candidate for Governor. Mr. Davis positively and peremptorily declined the nomination; whereupon they nominated George N. Briggs for Governor, and John Read, of Yarmouth, for Lieutenant-Governor. There was a suspension of hostilities between the Clay and Webster

fragments of the Whig party, which are already bitterly exasperated against each other. Webster has undertaken to dragoon the Whigs of this State from their allegiance to Henry Clay, whom he proposes to supplant as a supplementary candidate for the Presidency by a double coalition with John Tyler and John C. Calhoun. His first movements in this new system of policy have demolished the prospects of Clay, and driven John Davis into retirement, but have gone near to demolish also Webster's own party. The result thus far has been to throw the State into the hands of Marcus Morton and the radical Democracy. This is but a step to that flagitious coalition which is to prostrate the freedom of this Union before its slavery.

What am I to do in this struggle? to flinch ingloriously from it, or to perish in fruitless resistance against it? Is it not a craven spirit that holds me still in suspense on this mighty movement upon the history of man?

12th. I answered a letter from William Pitt Fessenden, a member of the last Congress from Portland, Maine, who has been charged in an abolitionist address to the people of that State with lukewarmness in support of the right of petition. He wrote to me requesting my testimony as to his course in the House. I have given him my testimony. The abolitionist charges against him are unjust; but zeal in support of the right of petition can do nothing in the Congress of the United States. I wrote this answer with great difficulty, much hesitation, and not a little imprudence in lifting up one corner of the curtain which covers the hideous reality of the slave ascendency in the Government of this Union—the double representation of the slave-owners in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral Colleges for the choice of President and Vice-President. Semper ego auditor tantum?

13th. Nicholas Machiavel and Ignatius Loyola have fallen into a mesmeric sleep, but I received this morning a letter from Asa Walker and two others, a committee of correspondence for a public meeting of the citizens of Bangor and vicinity, holden on the 27th of last month, and at which a resolution was adopted to observe the 1st of next August as the anniversary of West India emancipation, by a public address and other

suitable exercises, and the committee appointed to carry the resolution into execution invite me to deliver the address. The temptation is almost irresistible, but must be resisted. My time is not yet come. How shall I answer this letter?

The same question is of more than daily recurrence. I have, for example, an invitation, dated the 19th of April, from a committee of the directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, to unite with them in celebrating the completion of that monument, by a civic and military procession, and an address by the Hon. Daniel Webster. Upon this pageant has been engrafted another, to bedaub with glory John Tyler, the slave-breeder, who is coming with all his court, in gaudy trappings of mock royalty, to receive the homage of hungry sycophants, under color of doing homage to the principles of Bunker Hill martyrdom. I answered this invitation, declining to attend, with a struggle between inclination and decorum to suppress the most imperative motive for my absence—the disdain to be associated with the mouth-worship of liberty from the lips of the slave-breeder. I succeeded but indifferently in veiling my emotions, and touched upon the martyrdom of Bunker Hill only by transparent generalities, which will yet provoke censure.

16th. This was the day of the reception of the President of the United States, by the city of Boston. He comes with his Cabinet, and a ridiculous parade of ostentation, to attend the celebration of the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument—a costly pageant, first got up by Joseph Tinker Buckingham, President of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, and editor of the Boston Courier, the most respectable of Webster's trumpeters. The corner-stone of the monument was laid by La Fayette, on the 17th of June, 1825, on which occasion he delivered an eloquent discourse. He is to deliver another. The object now is to glorify him. A formal invitation was sent to him last fall, immediately after the completion of the monument, inviting him to the performance of this service, which he then accepted, and the invitation and acceptance were published in newspapers all over the country. The invitation to the President and his Cabinet to attend is a political device of Webster's own—a gull-trap for popularity, both for

himself and for Tyler, by which he hopes to whistle back his Whig friends, whom he had cast off, as a huntsman his pack, and who now threaten to hunt him, like the hounds of Actæon. The reception of the President this day had all the appearances of cordiality, notwithstanding a drenching rain to cool it. He is lodged at the Tremont House, at an enormous expense to the city, was entertained there with a sumptuous dinnèr by the City Council, and went to the theatre, and to an evening party at the Postmaster, Gordon's, house. I was invited to the dinner, but sent an excuse.

17th. This was the day of the great celebration of the completion of the monument on Bunker Hill; and never since the existence of the three hills was there such a concourse of strangers upon their sides as has been assembled on the banks of "majestic Charles" this day. What a name in the annals of mankind is Bunker Hill! what a day was the 17th of June, 1775! and what a burlesque upon them both is an oration upon them by Daniel Webster, and a pilgrimage of John Tyler, and his Cabinet of slave-drivers, to desecrate the solemnity by their presence! And then a dinner at Faneuil Hall in honor of a President of the United States, hated and despised by those who invited him to it, themselves as cordially hated and despised by him.

I have throughout my life had an utter aversion to all pageants and public dinners, and never attended one when I could decently avoid it. I was a student at Cambridge when, on the 17th of June, 1786, Charles River bridge was opened. The colleges were emptied on that day of the students, who flocked to witness the procession and the pageant. I passed the day in the solitude of my study, and dined almost alone in the hall. I had then no special motive for my absence. But now, with the ideal association of the thundering cannon, which I heard, and the smoke of burning Charlestown, which I saw, on that awful day, combined with this pyramid of Quincy granite, and Daniel Webster spouting, and John Tyler's nose, with a shadow outstretching that of the monumental column—how could I have witnessed all this at once, without an unbecoming burst of indignation, or of laughter? Daniel Webster

is a heartless traitor to the cause of human freedom; John Tyler is a slave-monger. What have these to do with the Quincy granite pyramid on the brow of Bunker's Hill? What have these to do with a dinner in Faneuil Hall, but to swill like swine, and grunt about the rights of man?

I stayed at home, and visited my seedling trees, and heard the cannonades of the rising, the meridian, and the setting sun, and answered a letter from the Rev. Joseph Emerson, dated at New London, Connecticut, making enquiries about a translation of Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary, published under the name of John Quincy Adams, and secretly circulating, as he says, about the country as my work.[1] I saw the sun set from the front of Charles's house at the extremity of his northwestern declination, and as I heard the cannonade salute of the closing day, and saw the smoke ascending from the side of the pyramid, the top of which was full in view, there came in forcible impulse to my memory the cannonade, and the smoke, and the fire, of the 17th of June, 1775.[2] I waited to see the revolving fire of the Boston light-house kindled, and then returned to my peaceful home.

18th. The Rev. Benjamin Kent, now keeper of a school for girls at Roxbury, preached for Mr. Lunt this morning with a double text—Romans vii. 24: "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" and Philippians iv. 13: "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." The doctrine of the discourse was that the will of a perfect Christian fortified by conscience is omnipotent—that nothing is impossible for it to achieve; and to elucidate the principle, he presented a parallel between these two passages from the writings of St. Paul—first in the Epistle to the Romans, in the agonies of despair, and then four years later to the Philippians, in the exultation of a glorious victory and triumph, by the strength of Christ assisting him. The first, written in the midst of the terrible struggle of his conversion, and while he was yet uncertain of its success. The last

[1] This was a printer in Boston, whose name was doubtless made use of for the purpose here described.

[2] Vol. i. p. 5.

was written after his conversion was consummated, and his confidence in himself, with the strength imparted to him by Christ, his Lord and Master, was unbounded. Upon this theme Mr. Kent amplified and dilated, until he reminded me of the story which I once heard Dr. Franklin tell, of a convent of monks, who had a very inconvenient hill in front of their monastery, and, upon their faith like a grain of mustard-seed's being sufficient to cast the mountain into the sea, set up a general onset of prayer to remove the mountain, which they perseveringly pursued till, tired of the obstinate adherence of the mountain to its place, one of the friars gave out that there was a mistake in the translation of the text, and that the true reading should be that with faith like a mountain it is possible to move a mustard-seed.

Mr. Kent and Mr. Lunt dined with us. They were both at the Bunker's Hill celebration yesterday, which went off admirably well. Webster's oration was brilliant, and eminently successful—two hours and seven minutes; suitable to the occasion, and often rapturously cheered. The dinner at Faneuil Hall was also very well ordered, and passed off agreeably. The cheering of Webster was hearty and general, that of the President feeble and cold.

19th. Mr. Stow is Recorder of the city of Buffalo, in the State of New York. He brought me recommendatory letters from Millard Fillmore and from General Peter B. Porter, the latter very kindly urging me to pay them a visit in that neighborhood, to which Mr. Stow added his own very friendly solicitations. I do not deceive myself by mistaking this earnest desire to hear me for anything more than mere curiosity; but it is friendly, and claims my gratitude. I believe there is not a man in the world more unfit for self-exhibition at public meetings and banquet dinners. When I go to them it is with feelings of a culprit to punishment, rather than of a victor to triumph. I told Mr. Stow that I could not indulge the hope of ever meeting in public the people of Buffalo, but should be ever grateful for their kindness, and would pray for their prosperity. Mr. William Cost Johnson paid me also a visit, with a Mr. Chapman, a stranger. Mr. Johnson came to witness the

Bunker Hill Monument celebration, and leaves Boston tomorrow morning, returning to Washington.

20th. Charles brought the account of the decease, this morning between five and six o'clock, of Hugh S. Legaré, of South Carolina, Attorney-General of the United States, and acting Secretary of State. He died at the house of his friend Mr. George Ticknor, to which he had been removed the day before from his lodgings at the Tremont House. He had been invited, as a member of the President's Cabinet, to the monumental celebration. The duties of his two Departments prevented him from accompanying the President on his journey; but he left Washington so as to reach the Tremont House on Friday, and was present at the dinner given to the President by the City Council at that house on that day. He was then much indisposed, and the next day so ill that he was unable to attend the celebration at the hill. His disease, which was bilious colic, continued increasing in violence, and inaccessible to all medical treatment, till he expired. He was an able and a very amiable man, by far the best of the President's present associates.

Just as I was called to dinner came in Dr. Goodale, a stranger, from the western part of the State of New York. He introduced himself, and asked numerous questions of Whig politics, and particularly concerning the prospects of John Tyler at the next Presidential election. There is no doubt he believes this idle pageant and personal courtesy will draw upon him overpowering popularity. The experiment has in part succeeded, and its total failure is certainly not yet demonstrated. He visited Lowell yesterday with a numerous train, and was received with tolerable cordiality.

24th. After an abridged excursion to see the rising sun, and to visit and study my seedling plants and listen to the matinal minstrelsy of the bobalink, the spring bird, and the robin, with the chirp of the sparrow and the new whistle of the quail—I think, all the aerial music of the time and place—I returned to my library chamber, and revised the copy of my discourse on the New England Confederacy of 1643, which I made up and dispatched by the mail to James Savage, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston. In revising this

discourse I had the opportunity of examining it with cooler judgment than I had while composing it. I was then somewhat disqualified by the hurry, agitation, and severe indisposition under which I was laboring, with a keen apprehension that my catarrh would disable me from delivering it, and extreme anxiety that it would, if delivered, be tedious and dull to the auditory. It was, on the contrary, happily delivered, and with as much favor from the auditory as I could have expected or ought to have desired. It is now an historical document and a political disquisition, to be published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and will pass to posterity as one of my contributions to the labors of that institution. I would it were wiser, more philosophical, more profound; I would the faculty had been conferred upon me to enlighten my brethren of the human race, to improve their condition upon earth, to rule them by the energies of the soul. Perhaps one of the sins for which I may have to answer hereafter is that of repining at the scantiness of the portion of intellect with which I was endowed.

26th. I continued, without finishing, my answer to the invitation from Bangor to deliver there an oration on the 1st of August, in celebration of the emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies. This answer will be instead of the oration itself; but it is already too long, and must be much longer to be worthy of the theme. I shall probably not send it, after all; but I feel an irremissible duty to bear my testimony once more, before I go hence, against slavery. To select the time, the place, and the manner is a subject of great consideration, and must be neither precipitated nor too long delayed. My ideas are yet crude, indigested, and confused. I will begin to collect and assert them in this letter, with the firm resolve to persevere in the pursuit.

29th. I went into Boston, and attended the stated monthly meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society; it was at noon. Before going to it, I paid a morning visit to Mr. and Mrs. Abbott Lawrence, whom I found in the bustle of packing up for a voyage to England. They are to embark in the steamer Acadia, to sail next Saturday. The voyage is for his health;

and he says he proposes to return next October. While there, he intends to sound the Peel Ministers about a reciprocity treaty, and to consult with Edward Everett; but he is not reconciled to the projects or present policy of Daniel Webster, and he thinks Webster's great device of bringing Tyler and his gang here, as bobs to his Bunker Hill Monument kite, a very small concern.

July 3d. Mr. Caleb Cushing, Commissioner Plenipotentiary to China, and Joseph Vance, heretofore a member of Congress from the State of Ohio, and afterwards Governor of that State, paid me a morning visit before breakfast, and subsequently the Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, with Mr. Ezekiel Bacon, of Utica, New York. Cushing's visit would have surprised me, but that he had told my son last Friday that he intended to make it. He has not made his court to Captain Tyler in vain. His obsequiousness and sacrifice of principle lost him the favor of his constituents, who repudiated him at the recent elections; but Mr. Tyler had more precious favors in his gift, and has lavished them in profusion upon Cushing. He is to embark in a few days for Alexandria, in Egypt, to proceed thence overland to Bombay, where he is to find the steamer Missouri, which is to take him to Canton.

Mr. Vance has within a few years experienced also the fickleness of popular favor. He was originally a poor laborer, but rose by his eloquence to Congress and to the Government of the State, and then was dropped into his primitive obscurity. Corwin is such another, with more talent, but not with deeper root. Ezekiel Bacon can tell much the same tale. He was a member of Congress from Berkshire, Massachusetts, at the time of Jefferson's Embargo; afterwards moved into the State of New York, and engaged deeply in her politics, but has been many years an invalid, retired altogether from public life, and writing verses in a sick-chamber at Utica. My correspondence with him began in 1808, and I have several letters from him, with enclosed poetry, within the last year. I had not seen him since I went to Russia, and did not know him, even when named to me by Mr. Lothrop, till the course of conversation disclosed who he was.

Boston, 4th.—My only surviving son, Charles Francis, delivered the annual Boston City Oration on the Anniversary of Independence, an incident of the most intense interest to me, it being this day fifty years since I performed the same service to the town. At half-past eight this morning we left my gate, and went into Boston, alighting at the City Hall, in School Street, where we found the Mayor of the city, Martin Brimmer, and the Aldermen, Common Council, with the other city officers, were assembling for a procession. President Quincy and Captain John Percival were among the persons whom I met there. Soon after ten the procession moved, escorted by two military companies, to Faneuil Hall, where, for the first time, this celebration was held. It has usually been at the Old South Church, and was there in 1793, when I performed. The order of performances this day was—1. Music. 2. An ode by a select choir of pupils of the public schools, under the direction of Lowell Mason. 3. Prayer by the Rev. Mr. Hague. 4. Selections from the Scriptures, by the Rev. Mr. Gray. 5. Ode, written by Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. 6. Oration, by Charles Francis Adams. 7. Prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Gray. 8. Hymn, to the tune of God Save the King. 9. Benediction, by Mr. Hague. The oration occupied one hour and a quarter in the delivery, and was received with great, repeated, and long-continued applause. The hall was crowded to its utmost capacity with a very respectable and highly intelligent auditory. There was a station assigned in the procession to the members of the Massachusetts delegation in Congress, in which I walked with Robert C. Winthrop. Neither Governor Morton nor any member of his Council was present. About a quarter-past one the ceremonies were all over.

The last time I had been in Boston on the 4th of July was in 1809. I went up the hill at sunset, witnessed the fireworks on the Common of Boston. No language can express the agitation of my feelings and the remembrances of this day.

6th. At ten o'clock I left home, with my son's wife and her son John Quincy. We went into Boston, and dined at Dr. Frothingham's, meeting there her father, Mr. Peter Chardon

Brooks.[1] Immediately after dinner we proceeded to the depot of the Western Railroad, where, after taking leave of Charles, who had just come in from Cambridge, we started in the cars at half-past three. The weather was fine, clear sunshine, yet comfortably cool. We passed through the towns of Natick, Southborough, Westborough, Worcester, Brookfield, Charlton, and several others which I neglected to ascertain, and at a quarter-before nine landed at Warriner's United States Hotel, in Springfield, ninety miles from Boston. Among our travelling companions were the Rev. Alexander Young, minister of the New South Church, Boston, going by the way of Hartford and New Haven to preach two Sundays at New York, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Grinnell, of New Bedford, and Mr. Henry Sargent, going to visit his son, settled at Newburgh, opposite to Fishkill Landing, on Hudson River. The season is delightful —the face of the country like the garden of Eden. It is the season of haymaking, and throughout our way the mower with his scythe, the cocking of the grass, or the spreading it from cock to dry, followed in alternate succession, and the atmosphere was charged only with varieties of fragrance. Fields of Indian corn, rye, potatoes, and oats, interchangeably with pastures covered with grazing cattle, neat and comfortable houses, and kitchen-gardens, and orchards laden with ripening fruit, attested a genial climate, a fruitful season, and a region of peace, plenty, and contentment. As the cars flew along from Boston, till we passed through Natick, the contrast of the seasons crowded upon my observation, between the present aspect of the country and that which I witnessed last November, when I went to deliver the lecture, with the ice-glazed road to Mr. Wilson's house,[2] and the falling snow of the next morning, as I returned to Boston. At Springfield we took our lodgings for the night at Jeremy Warriner's United States Hotel—one of

[1] This trip was originally devised for the benefit of Mrs. C. F. Adams, then out of health, by her father, Mr. Brooks. It was meant for a purely private journey. Mr. Adams was asked to join it because he had never seen the Falls of Niagara, and he readily consented, without an idea that it would be by that means converted by the public feeling into an ovation.

[2] Henry Wilson, since Vice-President of the United States.

the most elegant houses of public entertainment that I ever visited.

SPRINGFIELD, 7th.—Mr. Young departed at seven this morning, in a steamer for Hartford. Mr. Sargent disappeared in another direction for Hudson's River. I rose with the sun, and wrote in my bed-chamber till breakfast-time at eight, having no time to examine a narrative of an expedition to the Oregon Territory in 1835, 36, and 37, by Dr. Samuel Parker, or the life of the Rev. Samuel Haynes, a mulatto minister of the gospel, born in 1753, and deceased in 1833, of whom I had never heard before, but who was many years eminent as a preacher in Connecticut and the western part of the State of New York—books which I found on the table at which I wrote.

After breakfast, Colonel Howard and Mr. Ashmun called to see us, and accompanied Mr. Brooks and myself, with John Quincy, to the arsenal and the armory. At the arsenal we saw thirty thousand stands of arms, and were told that there were one hundred and fifty thousand ready for use in case of need. At the armory Major Ripley went round with us, and we saw the various processes of making the gun-barrels and the black walnut gun-stocks. I had seen these processes in 1828, but they are constantly making improvements in the manipulation of the musketry. They are now substituting the percussion-lock and cap for the flint-lock and pan; but Major Ripley told me that unless an appropriation should be very shortly made to repair, or rather to rebuild, the house over the water-fall, in which they make the gun-barrels and stocks, he apprehends it will crumble into ruin, and carry the workmen employed with it.

On our return to Warriner's we had a visit from Mr. William B. Calhoun, and Mrs. Grinnell was visited by her two sisters, Mrs. Dalton and Mrs. Bentley. We had a magnificent collation dinner, and at one o'clock rode to the depot and resumed our seats in the railroad-cars. Mr. and Mrs. Grinnell were still with us to Pittsfield, fifty-four miles through a country contrasting with that through which we had passed yesterday—a wild region of dark forests and stupendous rocks, through many of which deep cuts and inclined planes have been made for the

Western Railroad, which has cost ten millions of dollars. At Pittsfield we quitted the railroad, and bid farewell to Mr. and Mrs. Grinnell, and our new acquaintance, Mr. Porter, of Lee, a member of Governor Marcus Morton's Council. We took a carriage, and came in two hours to Lebanon Springs, over a heavy, mountainous road. Here we are to pass three or four days for the sake of the baths, said to be salubrious. We expected to have met here my old class-mate Judge Samuel Putnam, and Mr. Caleb Loring, of Boston, but were disappointed. They went away this morning. Mr. Charles G. Loring is here, with his wife, a daughter of Judge Putnam, and a son and daughter.

LEBANON, 8th.—The Columbian Hall at the Lebanon Springs, the house at which we have taken our lodgings, is an hotel kept by Hull and Bentley, with about one hundred and twenty bedchambers, in four low stories of a wooden mansion, with a wide piazza round three sides of the house, on the second and third stories; a large dining-hall on the ground-floor, with a reading- and bar-room, over which, ascending a flight of steps, there is also a large drawing-room.

The house is built on the eastern side of a high and steep hill, in the form of a half rectangle, the short side of which fronts the street, and the long side a very extensive valley between two ranges of lofty mountains, chiefly covered with oak, chestnut, beech, birch, black walnut, and especially sugar-maple trees, interspersed with willows and sycamores of respectable size and stature, but none of them very large or tall. The sumach and locust are also very common among them.

On rising this morning and walking round the piazza, I was much struck by the successive lights and shades of the sun, rising in a crystal clear sky, gilding the tops of the mountains successively in proportion to their respective elevations, piercing through interstitial passages between the hills into parts of the valley, and casting long dark shades of solitary trees in one direction before them. For three-quarters of an hour the peaks of the mountains were taking one after another the golden tinge, before the sun became visible from the piazza on which I was walking and listening to the morning concert of

the birds. This was very little varied by the spring and yellow birds, with the kingbird, wren, swallow, and robin, none but what I hear at Quincy, and no sound either of bobalink or quail.

I wrote till breakfast-time at eight, and soon after, with all our party, a Mr. Aymer and two ladies from New York, and Edward, a son of Patrick Johnson, we rode in two carriages up the hills to a tower, about fifty feet high, on the loftiest summit of this neighborhood, whence we had a range of prospect round the compass, with a radius of fifty miles. The line between the States of New York and Massachusetts is on the road from Lebanon to the tower, which is in Berkshire County, and whence parts of the States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and New York are visible at one view. Returning from the tower at noon, I took a bath. Water at 90°; not warm.

After dinner I had a visit from Mr. Dunham and Mr. Hayden, of Pittsfield, to invite me there; but I declined. Mr. Dunham brought with him his daughter Helen Maria's album for me to write my name in it. We next rode, taking with us a small boy, a son of Mrs. Crowninshield, to the village of the Shakers, and visited a man named John Mantle, and a woman, living in two rooms of one house, where they keep a small shop of Shakerism at unconscionable prices. We saw also their dairy and cheeses, and cow-yard, with two women milking twenty-five cows. Returned, and after tea spent the evening on the piazza, in converse with a cluster of strangers.

NIAGARA FALLS, 24th.—This morning, after breakfast, General Porter, with his nephew and namesake, the Judge's son, took me, with Mr. Brooks and Mr. Grinnell, to a farm-house and farm, owned by him, on the brink of the river, two miles above the Falls, and to Schlosser, a mile or more higher up, and in 1837 the scene of that memorable transaction, the seizure and destruction, by a party from the British side of the river, of the steamboat Caroline, an incident which brought us nearer to a British border and civil war than any other since the Peace of Ghent. At Schlosser there is only a single house, but a landing-place at the river's edge. In the middle of the

river, Navy Island, belonging to the British, and Grand Island, to the United States and part of the State of New York, both covered with forests of primeval trees, are so narrowly separated by the channel of the river that they seem at Schlosser to be one continuous island, and just below them commence the rapids rushing to the Falls, which render the river impassable in boats. There is no trace of the tread of hostile feet remaining, and nothing noticeable on the spot save its reminiscences.

After dinner, with all our party, we again visited the Falls upon Goat or Iris Island. There is a kitchen- and fruit-garden there, through which I passed with General Porter, and I went to the top of the tower, built by General Porter, at a point on the island, whence the view of the Falls is, on this side the river, most grand and picturesque.

Returning again to the Cataract House, several visitors at the Falls were introduced to me, and among them Mr. Meyer, minister of a Lutheran Church at Philadelphia, and his two daughters. I received a written invitation from Syracuse to stop and visit the people there. Professor Mitchel, of Cincinnati, came with two resolutions from the Astronomical Society of that place, inviting me to lay the corner-stone of an observatory which they are about to erect there, and with two letters from Judge Burnet and Mr. Pendleton, urging me to accept the invitation. I asked Mr. Mitchel for a short interval of time to make up my mind upon a proposal so strange to me, and so flattering that I scarcely dare to think of it with composure.

25th. This morning I delivered to Professor Mitchel my answer to the resolutions of the Cincinnati Astronomical Society of the 18th instant, inviting me to lay the corner-stone of the Observatory which they propose to erect, and to deliver an oration on the occasion. I have accepted the invitation, and promised to perform the duty, if in my power, on some day in the month of November next, to suit the convenience of the Society. This is a rash promise, and, in faithfully analyzing my motives for making it, I wish I could find them pure from all alloy of vanity and self-glorification. It is an arduous, hazardous, and expensive undertaking, the successful performance of

which is more than problematical, and of the event of which it is impossible for me to foresee anything but disappointment. Yet there is a motive pure and elevated, and a purpose benevolent and generous, at least, mingling with the impulses which in this case I obey, and upon which I may without irreverence invoke the blessing of Heaven, as I do, for fortitude, energy, and perseverance to accomplish what I have promised. Mr. Mitchel, after receiving my answer, took his departure to return to Cincinnati.

Mr. Millard Fillmore and Mr. Love, heretofore members of Congress, came this day, deputed from the city of Buffalo to invite me to visit that place, and Mr. Fillmore delivered to me a similar written invitation signed by thirteen citizens of Syracuse. I went this morning with General Porter to Goat Island, to bespeak a warm bath at the bathing-house just above the single-sheeted fall from which it borrows the stream that supplies the bath. They had then no heated water, but promised to have some ready for me this evening. I then walked about an hour before breakfast with the General, to re-inspect all the points from which the cascades and the rapids are seen to the best advantage. The sky was unusually clear, the sun shining in cloudless splendor, and the snowy foam of the spray reflected the burning beams in a constantly-shifting rainbow, adding exquisite beauty to the awful grandeur of the falling flood.

After breakfast, General Porter, with Mr. Brooks, Mr. and Mrs. Grinnell, Mrs. Charles and her son, descended the steps to the ferry, and crossed the river in a small ferry-boat over a placid and gentle stream, scarcely conscious of the falling tempest so close above them. The ascent on the western side of the river, though steep and rocky, is practicable; and we found at the landing two carriages waiting for us, in which we ascended the heights, and rode first to view the scene of the action at Lundy's Lane in the last war with Great Britain. We then went to the Clifton House, and ordered dinner. Then, leaving the ladies there, we proceeded to the plains of Chippewa, where General Porter explained to us the movements on the battle-ground at that place on the 25th of July, 1814—of

which day this is the anniversary. Returning, we stopped and saw the phenomenon of the burning spring, and I drank a tumbler of its cool sulphuric water. Dined at the Clifton House; visited the table rock and the cavern under it. Returned over the ferry. Warm bath. Evening party at General Porter's.

26th. The train of cars leaves the Falls for Buffalo at two P.M. But the committee from that city had concluded to take me up from Schlosser in the steamer Bunker Hill. General Porter took me in his carriage to Schlosser, and there all our party met precisely at noon—the time which had been fixed. The committee from Buffalo, with a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen, who had taken this opportunity for an excursion, cordially greeted me and all our party. Here General Porter took leave of me, declining, from indisposition, the earnest invitation of the citizens of Utica to accompany me thither. There was another steamer, the Cleveland, with a company of ladies and gentlemen equally numerous, on a separate excursion, but joining us, as in procession. The passage from Schlosser to Buffalo occupied four hours, the banks of the river on both sides presenting a succession of beautiful landscapes. Some of us landed on Grand Island and inspected the pyramid announcing in Hebrew and in English the city of Ararat, founded by Mordecai M. Noah. We dined in the steamer, a cold-water dinner, and at four o'clock entered in beautiful style the harbor of Buffalo, at the entrance of Lake Erie. We were received by shouting multitudes at the landing. I was conducted in an open barouche to a stage at the Park, received a complimentary address from Mr. Fillmore, which was answered by me, addressing the people. After this I rode round the city with Mr. Fillmore and the Mayor, then to the American Hotel, and shook hands with some hundreds of men and women. Firemen's torchlight procession. Thundershower, and evening party.

BUFFALO, 27th.—The splendid evening party and supper at Buffalo last evening was at the house of General , who had invited us the day before at the Niagara Falls. The editor of a newspaper at Buffalo, who had been in the Park when I answered the address of Mr. Fillmore, was so distant

from me that he could not hear me, and requested me to write out my speech—which was impossible. He then offered to come at five o'clock this morning and take it down at my dictation—to which I agreed. He came accordingly precisely at five, and wrote by my dictation till half-past seven. It was a full report of my speech, as correct as my memory could repeat what I said.

Before breakfast I received a note from Frederick Whittlesey, Thomas Kempshall, and Graham H. Chapin, all three heretofore members at different times of the House of Representatives of the United States, requesting an interview with me. They came as a deputation from the citizens of Rochester to invite me to visit that city; which invitation I accepted.

At half-past eight A.M. we left Buffalo in the cars, thirty-five miles to Batavia. Here they stopped to take in wood and water. Here a crowd was assembled, with Phineas L. Tracy, heretofore a member of Congress, who introduced me to them. A platform in front of the door broke down from the weight of the pressure upon it, and one gentleman, who had accompanied us from Buffalo, was so much hurt that he was obliged to leave us. I was stepping from the platform into the house when the crash happened, and just escaped falling through. From Batavia to Rochester is thirty-two miles. We arrived at Rochester between two and three, and found guns firing, bells ringing, and an immense crowd of people shouting. The first person whom I saw before alighting from the cars was Francis Granger, who had come in deputation from Canandaigua to invite me to stop a day there; and he brought me a kind and friendly invitation from Mr. John Greig, late member of Congress, chosen to supply Granger's place when he was appointed Postmaster-General, and who, when Granger retired from the Tyler Cabinet, resigned, to bring him again into the House. I consented to stop and dine to-morrow with Mr. Greig at Canandaigua, to have an interview and hand-shaking with the inhabitants, and then proceed on to Auburn in the evening. I remained for this day at Rochester. We dined at the Eagle Hotel. After dinner, rode round the city and to the cemetery of Mount Hope—a copy from that of Mount Auburn, superior

to the original. At six P.M. was the public meeting. The Mayor, Isaac Mills, addressed me from a stage in front of a public building. I answered him by a speech, and Granger, being called out, made a short one. Then came the shaking of hands. In the evening I received the ladies at the Eagle Hotel, and made them a short speech. The firemen's torchlight procession closed the day.

ROCHESTER, 28th.—I had about two hours this morning to retrieve one day of arrears, which, since I left Quebec, have crept upon my diary in spite of every possible exertion. The lapse of unrecorded time constantly reminds me of that irresistible current which hurries down and dashes over the cataracts of Niagara. So am I hurried down the stream of time, and day after day turns over the precipice and is lost. We breakfasted at the hotel, and, as we were about passing into the cars, Mr. Isaac Mills, the Mayor of Rochester, sent to our ladies a basket of delicious black-heart and white-heart cherries, perfectly ripe, and of a size such as I have not seen for many years. Mr. Granger and Mr. Jared Wilson accompanied us to Canandaigua, whence they had been sent as a deputation to meet us. At the entrance of the town we met a cavalcade in military uniform, with a band of music, and numerous carriages, all of which united in a procession of a full mile, with bells ringing and a firing of cannon, which left me in amazement to enquire of myself what all this was for. The procession, however, led me to the Brick Church, where Mr. Francis Granger introduced me to all the beauty and fashion of Canandaigua, in a highly complimentary address, which I answered as best I could, in a speech full of inanity and gratitude, shamefaced and awkward, as I must always be in answering compliments to myself. After the speeches and shaking hands with all the men and women introduced to me in the church, I rode with Mr. Francis Granger, whose brother, John A. Granger, was the Marshal of the day, to the house of his mother, with whom he resides, and where I found his daughter. Thence I went to the splendid mansion of Mr. John Greig—a princely palace—where I dined with a select party of his friends. He has a handsome library, and fine collections of paintings, engravings, ancient coins,

and shells—among the rest, a volume of Italian engravings, showing the history of the art of painting, from Cimabue to Raphael; also a volume of fancy caricature portraits, long before Hogarth. We proceeded in the cars to Auburn, accompanied by the ex-Governor William H. Seward, and another deputy from Auburn, with an invitation to me to stop there. At Geneva and several other places on the road, crowds were collected to shake hands with me, to hear me speak a few words, and shout me onward. We arrived at Auburn between nine and ten at night, and by the torchlight procession of the firemen I was transported to Governor W. H. Seward's house for the night.

AUBURN, 29th.—At nine o'clock we went to the Presbyterian church, where Mr. Seward addressed and introduced me to the people; and I answered in a speech of about half an hour. Christopher Morgan, a member of the Twenty-Sixth and Twenty-Seventh Congresses, had come from Aurora to meet me and invite me there; but I could not go. He came on with me to Syracuse, as did Mr. Seward and others of the Auburn committee, and the whole military company of the Auburn Guards. The distance from Auburn to Syracuse is twenty-six miles, which we traversed in one hour and five minutes. Repetition of address, answer, and shaking of hands, a public dinner with cold water, and a speech and toast from Governor Seward, briefly answered by me. Here I met the Rev. J. P. Boyd Storer. Ride after dinner to the Salt Spring and Salt Works; address and answer there. At six returned to the cars; reached Utica at ten in the evening; torchlight to Alexander B. Johnson's.

UTICA, 30th.—Mr. Ezekiel Bacon called on me early this morning. Though chairman of the committee of arrangements for my reception at Utica, such was the confusion in the crowd and darkness of last evening that he missed of meeting me. I was taken to a carriage and brought to Mr. Johnson's house through a dense mass of population, I know not how or by whom. They brought me by the torchlight procession of firemen. From the porch of Mr. Johnson's house I thanked them for their kindness, and said I hoped and trusted that we

should all devote this day to the worship and service of Almighty God, and that to-morrow I should have the happiness of meeting again my fellow-citizens face to face, when I should endeavor to find words to thank them for their kindness.

August 1st. I received yesterday a letter from David Thompson, Benjamin Anderson, and Tucker Woodson, a committee appointed by the colored citizens of Utica to wait on me and return their thanks for my efforts in protecting the right of petition and promoting the abolition of slavery, and proposing to come, if it would be agreeable to me, in the evening.

I accordingly received them about eight o'clock, and one of them addressed me in a short but formal speech, modest and well delivered. I answered them with equal brevity, thanking them for their kind attentions to me, assuring them that I had no claim to gratitude from them for services in which I had performed no more than my indispensable (duty ;) that I should still and ever be happy to serve them to the utmost extent of my power, and commend them to the protection of our common Father and Creator.

My first visit this morning, immediately after breakfast, was to the Female Seminary, where I was introduced to the assembled teachers and pupils, and addressed in behalf of the trustees of that institution by Mr. Spencer, in a manner so affecting that it made a child of me. It consisted chiefly of extracts which he read from my mother's published letters of 19th August, 1774, to my father, and of June, 1778, to me. I actually sobbed as he read, utterly unable to suppress my emotion. Oh, my mother! Is there anything on earth so affecting to me as thy name? so precious as thy instructions to my childhood, so dear as the memory of thy life? I answered I know not what. My thoughts were all upon my mother; my heart was too full for my head to think, and my presence of mind was gone. At the close of his address, Mr. Spencer presented to me, at the request of the ladies, twelve numbers of a monthly publication, from August, 1842, to July, 1843, called "The Young Ladies' Miscellany," the original productions of the Utica Female Academy.

At ten o'clock the reception took place, on a stage erected in front of the Bleeker House, where Mr. Bacon addressed and

welcomed me in the name of the citizens of Utica. I answered him in a speech of about half an hour, sufficiently cheered for my hopes or wishes, but of mortifying inanity to myself. The shaking of some hundred hands then followed, and on my way returning to Mr. Johnson's I stopped, and four daguerreotype likenesses of my head were taken, two of them jointly with the head of Mr. Bacon—all hideous. Then a visit to the dwarf C. F. Stratton, called General Tom Thumb, eleven years old, twenty-five inches high, weighing fifteen pounds, dressed in military uniform, mimicking Napoleon.

2d. From Utica to Schenectady the distance is seventy-seven miles, and from Schenectady to Albany sixteen. At Herkimer, fourteen miles, at Little Falls, twenty-two, from Utica, and at every place in the valley of the Mohawk where the cars stopped five minutes for wood and water, crowds of people were assembled, received me with three cheers, and manifested a desire to see and hear me—with which I complied by descending from the cars, shaking hands with as many of them as could reach me, and addressing them till the passing bell called me back to my seat.

At Little Falls I was addressed and welcomed by Arphaxad Loomis, an ex-member of the Twenty-Sixth Congress, whom I did not recognize till after I had answered. In the valley of the Mohawk we saw the fortress dwelling-house of Sir William Johnson, and that of the Indian chief Brant, said to be his son. About an hour before we reached Schenectady, the wind raised by the rapid motion of the car lodged on the ball of my left eye, beneath the under lid, a small sharp-angled pebble, of the entrance of which I was not conscious when it happened, but which fretted the eye to torture, produced considerable inflammation, and made it impossible for me to look in the face of those whom I was to address. A sumptuous dinner had been prepared for us at Schenectady. I was in anguish unutterable. I retired to a private chamber, and washed the eye in cold water, without relief. Dr. Duane, who had observed my suffering, followed me to the chamber, examined the eye, discovered the offensive pebble, wiped it out with the corner of a towel, and I was well.

Mr. De Graff, a member of former Congresses, presided at the cold-water dinner. After dinner an address of welcome, from the porch of a dwelling-house, was answered by me as the moment inspired. Mr. Daniel D. Barnard, and two other gentlemen from Albany, met us at Schenectady, were at the dinner, and accompanied us to their home. There we were received after sunset with firing of cannon, ringing of bells, a procession, and cavalcade of butchers, and many thousand citizens; and, after announcing from the steps of the Capitol that I would meet them at ten to-morrow morning, I came with Mr. Barnard to his house and received an evening serenade.

3d. At ten o'clock this morning I met again the people of Albany, in company with Mr. Barnard, who addressed and welcomed me, in their name, from the stoop of Mr. Gregory's house facing the Capitol Park. There was no public building in the city capable of containing a tithe of the assembled multitude. I answered Mr. Barnard's address by a speech of about half an hour, well received, and of which the only fault I heard found was that it was too short. To myself it was but the crowning proof how unfit I am for such occasions, and a lesson at once of profound gratitude and humility.

When the shouts that followed its close had subsided, notice was given to the citizens that I would repair to the Governor's chamber in the Capitol and there shake hands with any one who would desire it. About five hundred of them, perhaps one-tenth of the whole number, went through this ceremony; after which there was a separate presentation to some two hundred ladies, assembled in the Senate-chamber, and to whom I also made a grave, and not a flattering, speech. After this, I was conducted by the committee of arrangements and viewed the public offices of the State Government, and then, in another building, those of the city. Some of the most ancient archives of the State, in the Low Dutch language, were exhibited to me.

Among the persons who now accompanied me was Mr. Flagg, heretofore the Comptroller of the State. Mr. Bouck, the son of the present Governor, was among the individuals introduced to me last evening, and again this morning. He presented to me his father's compliments, with his regret that

he had been obliged to leave the city upon private business yesterday morning. Governor Marcy was among those who met and greeted me, as was Mr. Edwin Croswell, the somewhat celebrated editor of the Albany Argus. Mr. Van Buren himself is at the Saratoga Springs, as we were informed by Mr. Isaac C. Bates, who came from thence last evening and proceeded on his journey homeward this morning.

After a retirement of two hours to my chamber at Mr. Barnard's for repose, I met at his table a party of about twenty of his friends, among whom were the Mayor of the city, and Mr. Lansing, General Rufus King, a son of Charles King, Doctor Potter, the rector of the Episcopal church at which Mr. Barnard worships, and others, strangers, whose names I could not retain.

After dinner we visited the mansion-house of the Patroon, the late Stephen Van Rensselaer, whose eldest son, of the same name, resides there. He is now absent; but his wife, and her brother-in-law and sister, Mr. and Mrs. Bayard, received and treated us with great kindness. The house is about two miles out of the city; garden and green-house are elegant and comfortable. We returned to Albany, and the evening closed with a party of ladies and gentlemen, given by Mr. Barnard, and from which, by a refinement of courtesy to me, the company retired at an early hour.

4th. At half-past six this morning, Mr. Barnard took me in his carriage to the landing-place in the city of Albany, whence the steamboat crosses the river Hudson, to take the cars of the Great Western Railroad to Boston. He crossed the river with me, and took leave of me at the cars. Mr. George N. Briggs had come deputed with an invitation to me from the inhabitants of Pittsfield, and I had received a written invitation from Mr. Edward A. Newton to take rooms, during my visit to Pittsfield, at his house. Mr. Briggs and another of the deputies accompanied me. The distance from Albany to Boston, traversed by the Western Railroad, is two hundred miles. Pittsfield is fifty-two miles, and Springfield one hundred, from Albany. The cars reached Pittsfield at ten o'clock in the morning. The road from Albany was the same we had travelled on the 11th of last

month, as far as Canaan, where we then came from the Lebanon Springs, and returned to the train we had parted from, four days before, at Pittsfield. We again came through the village of Kinderhook, and again passed through the subterranean tunnel. We passed in sight of Lebanon, which I remembered with pleasure, and the spot was pointed out to me of the line which separates from each other the States of New York and Massachusetts.

Mr. Newton's carriage was at the depot in Pittsfield, and I was taken to his house. It was immediately crowded with visitors, till the citizens were informed that I would meet and exchange salutations with them at the Presbyterian church, at noon. In the mean time the Berkshire County Medical Association, casually assembled here upon business of their own, came with their president at their head—his Honor Henry H. Childs, Lieutenant-Governor of this Commonwealth, who introduced them all to me, perhaps to the number of one hundred and twenty, and with them all I cordially shook hands. I found myself suddenly, though not unexpectedly, unwell, and retired for an hour of repose to a bed-chamber.

Mr. Newton has among his pictures a portrait of my father, upon which he asked my opinion. It was a copy by his brother, an eminent painter, who died in England three or four years since, of one of Stuart's portraits of my father.

At noon, a procession was formed to the church, and there Mr. Briggs addressed and welcomed me in a highly complimentary speech, which I answered with whatever of spirit was left me, mortified, exhausted, and ashamed. I then shook hands in the church with all the men and women who presented themselves; after which we proceeded to the public house and partook of a plentiful cold-water dinner. Among the guests to this were Mr. Henry Shaw, of Lanesborough, and Josiah Quincy, Jr., now abiding at Lenox. Lieutenant-Governor Childs presided, and after dinner there was a quantum sufficit of toasts, of sentiments, and of flabby speeches. They were succeeded by a ride of eight or ten of the party to the Female Academy, where we were met by a procession of the lady teachers and pupils. An address, a speech, and a song by the young ladies.

At six P.M. we took the cars for Springfield, and arrived there after nine.

SPRINGFIELD, 5th.—I was very much indisposed all night, and rose this morning worn out and exhausted. Mr. William B. Calhoun had come in last evening to arrange the reception which had been projected for me at Springfield. But the people had expected my arrival this morning, and by coming prematurely, Calhoun said, I had spoiled all the fun. The sight of me is no novelty at Springfield. They have seen me come and go time after time without exciting any interest or emotion. I thought a reception here would be flat and unprofitable, and concluded to make the best of my way home by taking the morning cars and escaping from another repetition of a ceremony already satiated with repetitions. Mr. Calhoun, after urging me, without importunity, to stay, insisted, if I would go, upon accompanying me as far as Worcester. Mr. Briggs and Mr. Pomeroy took leave of me, and, at half-past six, departed in the morning cars upon their return to Pittsfield, immediately after which I took my seat in the train for Boston, and, among many other fellow-passengers, all strangers, met my old pupil, subsequent protégé, and now alienated friend, Alexander H. Everett, a political outcast, the wreck of his own ill-woven ambition and the envious and vindictive craftiness of another man, more cunning and unprincipled than himself. At Worcester Mr. Calhoun took leave of me to return home, and I closed my journey alone.

QUINCY, 7th.—Lewis Tappan was here with his wife and two daughters, but the ladies declined alighting from his carriage, and he stayed with me but a few minutes. The day after he was here, on the 31st of last May, he embarked for England, and has just now returned. He attended the second World's Convention, held at London from the 18th to the 22d of June, and gave me a brief and rapid summary of their proceedings. He said he had a letter to me from Thomas Clarkson, and sundry papers containing full and detailed reports of the proceedings of the Convention. But they were at Brookline, and he would send them to me. He was to go for New York this afternoon. He said he had told Lord Aberdeen of my distrust

of the British Government on the subject of slavery, and particularly on the surrender of fugitive slaves. He said Lord Aberdeen was startled at the suggestion, and utterly disclaimed all intention of suffering the tenth article of the Ashburton Treaty to be made the instrument of reclaiming slaves.

This article is a pattern example of diplomatic swindling. There is hope that its purpose may be defeated by the alarm of the English abolitionists, and their remonstrances against it, before the enactment of it by Parliament as English law. A grosser fraud was never practised upon nations than was intended by that article. The apologies for it by Lord Ashburton and by the British Ministers are lame and prevaricating, and, from the statements of Mr. Tappan, all my suspicions of the duplicity of the British Ministers on the subject of Texas and slavery are but too strongly confirmed. The policy of the British Government is to cherish, sustain, and protect the institutions of slavery in our Southern States and Texas, and their task is to do it by humbugging the abolitionists in England into the belief that they intend directly the reverse.

10th. I received this morning by the mail the Bangor Courier of the , containing my letter of 4th July last to Asa Walker, Charles A. Stackpole, and F. M. Sabine. It is announced as a letter from John Quincy Adams on slavery, with a statement that it was read at the meeting on the 1st of August, without one word of comment upon it. I have expected the publication of this letter, and expect to be held to severe responsibility for writing it. Before my lamp is burnt out, I am desirous that my opinions concerning the great movement throughout the civilized world for the abolition of slavery should be explicitly avowed and declared. God grant that they may contribute to the final consummation of that event! There are sundry errors of the press and of the manuscript to be rectified, and to which I must attend.

11th. I received this morning, forwarded from New York by Lewis Tappan, a letter from Thomas Clarkson of 2d July, 1843, at Playford Hall, near Ipswich, Suffolk, in England, with a printed prospectus for the publication of the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention held at London from the 13th to

the 20th of June last, a printed address, signed by Thomas Clarkson, in behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, dated 7th July, 1843, to Lord Aberdeen, and earnestly remonstrating against the annexation of Texas to the United States, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter of 14th, 21st, 28th June, and 12th July, and the Morning Chronicle of 14th July.

These contain a full exposition of the proceedings of the second World's Convention, at which no very conspicuous person attended, excepting Lord Morpeth. His speech to the Convention on taking the chair was firm, moderate, and discreet. The resolution honorary to me which he offered, and which was unanimously adopted, is an indication of personal respect for my character, beyond the Atlantic, which ought to fill my soul with humility and with fervent gratitude to God. These events, occurring at the same period with the manifestation of kindly feeling towards me from the people of the State of New York, and with the invitation from Cincinnati to lay the corner-stone of their Observatory, seem temptations of prosperity too great for frail human nature to resist, or to bear with impunity. I pray for the calmness and sensibility suited to justice and to the true estimate of worldly honors.

I received a letter from Mr. Andrews, the young lawyer from Texas who visited me the day before he embarked with Mr. Tappan for England. He is encouraged in the hope of accomplishing, with the aid of British influence, the abolition of slavery in Texas. But I perceive nothing, as yet, to relieve the deep distrust, which I would fain discard if I could, of the British ministerial policy with regard to slavery in Texas and in our Southern States. Her interest is to sustain and cherish slavery there, and there is too much reason to surmise that in the conflict between policy and principle slavery will bear off the palm.

12th. The Boston Courier of this morning republishes, from the Bangor Courier, my letter of the 4th of July last to the Bangor Committee for celebrating the anniversary of the emancipation of slaves in the British West India Islands, with all the errors of the Bangor paper, and several more. Not a

word of comment upon the letter is in either of the papers. I expected the publication of that letter, and wrote it for the purpose of exhibiting in as brief a compass as possible my principles, feelings, and opinions relating to the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. I meant it as a note of defiance to all the slave-holders, slave-breeders, and slave-traders upon earth. As the experiment of summons to the whole freedom of this Union in its own defence, I sent it forth alone to try its fortune in the world, and made it purposely bold and startling, to rouse, if possible, both friend and foe. The two publications without comment give no promise of a rally for the support of freedom. As yet, there is no hostile notice of it abroad. It may remain altogether unnoticed —which is the worst fate that can befall it; for, if I can but raise a controversy by it—that is, an adversary worthy of being answered—it shall be, if my life and health will admit, a textbook for future enlargement and illustration for the whole remnant of my toilsome days.

16th. On my return home from Canada, I found among the newspapers on my table one with the title of Boston Investigator, devoted to the protection and development of infidel principles, vol. xiii., No. 13, Wednesday, August 2d, 1843. It had apparently been sent to me for a scurrilous article on the second page, entitled "Another Specimen of Christian Criticism," being a knavish commentary upon the Rev. Joseph Emerson's letter to me, and my answer, respecting the translation of Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary, imputed to me, because the title-page announces it as printed and published by J. Q. Adams. The article now states that it was published in 1836, at the Investigator office, and purports to be with additional notes, both critical and argumentative, by Abner Kneeland. This man was an avowed atheist and preacher of atheism, of which his translation of Voltaire's dictionary was one of the gospels. He was shortly after convicted upon an indictment for blasphemy, imprisoned, and soon pardoned. His atheist church was broken up; but it seems his weekly atheist newspaper still continues. Two or three days since, I received an octavo weekly journal, edited by G. Vale, at New York, 5th

August, third series, vol. i., No. 18, The Beacon, seventh year, a coadjutor of the Boston Investigator in the propagandism of the atheistic church. In this paper there is an article, headed "Voltaire and J. Q. Adams," containing my letter of 17th June, 1843, to Mr. Emerson, with one from him to the editors of the New York Observer, requesting them to publish it. The correspondent of The Beacon extracts them from the Journal of Commerce, without noticing the offensive fraud of palming upon me the act of printing and publishing these excrements of Voltaire, but with a malignant imputation of false pretences in my remarks upon the base and filthy infidelity of Voltaire. These periodical publications, The Investigator and The Beacon, indicate the pertinacity with which this little atheistic club pursue their will-of-the-wisp over the low swampy lands of Christendom.

September 19th. I received a second letter from Mr. Giddings, with one of the same date (13th September) from him, James M. Bloss, and Gaius N. St. John, as a committee of the people of Ashtabula County, Ohio, inviting me to visit them on my way to, or returning from, Cincinnati. This afternoon I answered the invitation and the letter from Giddings; but it left me in the evening only the power to finish the page I had begun yesterday of my discourse. In the distribution of my time, it is distressing to be so exceedingly straitened for hours to read, and I feel it cruelly now, when I want to compress a history of astronomy into a discourse of three hours' delivery. My task is to turn this transient gust of enthusiasm for the science of astronomy at Cincinnati into a permanent and persevering national pursuit, which may extend the bounds of human knowledge and make my country instrumental in elevating the character and improving the condition of man upon earth. The hand of God Himself has furnished me this opportunity to do good. But, oh, how much will depend upon my manner of performing that task! and with what agony of soul must I implore the aid of Almighty Wisdom for powers of conception, energy of exertion, and unconquerable will, to accomplish my design!

October 11th. I received a letter from Mr. Henry Clay, with a

kind and cordial invitation to Kentucky, and to Ashland, his house, on the occasion of my approaching tour to Cincinnati; and the invitation is extended equally to Mrs. Adams. I receive it with a full sense of the generous and friendly feeling of Mr. Clay, but under equal embarrassment whether to accept or to decline it. I had intended not to protract my journey beyond the absolute necessity required for the performance of the duty which I have engaged to perform, and that becomes more formidable as I approach the day of performance. Even now it brings me to the borders of distraction. There are numerous reasons why I should not step beyond the State of Ohio, and my deliberate judgment is that I should adhere to that determination. Yet there are considerations of great weight prompting to my acceptance of the invitations to Kentucky, and especially that of Mr. Clay. I must wait for counsel.

24th. I was up till near one this morning, preparing for this day, and, at half-past four, again up; but the time for action came, and I was not half prepared. I wanted one week more. At half-past seven, with my son and Mr. Brigham, I rode to Dedham, and we were met by a cavalcade at Paul's Bridge, who escorted us to the house of Mr. Sweet. There I received and shook hands with perhaps two hundred men, and eight or ten women, from many towns of the Congressional district. At ten a procession was formed under the direction of Major Thomas Adams, of Quincy, which wheeled round into the Rev. Dr. Burgess's meeting-house, next door to Mr. Sweet's. Mr. Copeland, Chairman of the Norfolk County Convention's Committee, read the resolution of the Convention inviting me to address the Whigs of the county. A song, tune of "Auld Lang Syne," highly complimentary to me, was sung, and I delivered my address, of two hours and a half, to a house as crowded as it could hold—a miserable fragment of what it should have been, cut short by my observing the clock close upon the stroke of one. I gave Dr. Brewer, one of the editors of the Atlas, the written part of my speech, and he promised a report of the whole in the Atlas to-morrow. Charles and I, with his son John Quincy, who had gone with us, returned home to Quincy to dine.

25th. Yesterday was one of the most beautiful days of autumn, and was peculiarly favorable to the meeting at Dedham. The weather this morning was not promising, but, after a hasty breakfast at a quarter-past five, I came in the carriage alone to the depot of the Western Railroad, at Boston, which I reached at ten minutes past six. Mr. Grinnell[1] came soon, and Mrs. Grinnell was with him. Mr. Stearns, of Springfield, accosted me, and said he had come to Boston to escort me to Springfield. At seven the cars started from the depot, and at half-past nine we reached Worcester. Mr. Dalton, the husband of Mrs. Grinnell's sister, came also with us. Mr. Morris, Judge of Probate for the county of Hampden, joined us. After we had passed Worcester, Mr. Joshua Leavitt came into the car in which we had taken our seats, and left us at West Brookfield. He had left Boston with us in the same train, but another car. He read to me from a newspaper slip Wise's letter to the party which gave a public dinner to Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter. We reached Springfield soon after noon, and were visited by Mr. William B. Calhoun, Mr. John B. Kirkham, and sundry others, among whom a Mr. Bliss, of Wilbraham, a person rather eccentric in his conversation, but very kind in his disposition, who said he had come twelve miles from Wilbraham purposely to see me. Mr. Morris was also warmly complimentary in his expressions of respect for my character. We took lodging at Warriner's Hotel, one of the best in the United States. He gave me an excellent bed-chamber, with a fire. We dined at two, and after dinner I was so worn down with weariness, three almost sleepless nights, and anxiety, that my faculties seemed benumbed, and I felt as if falling into a lethargy. I retired to my chamber, threw myself on the bed, and had two hours of refreshing sleep.

Colonel Howard had been one of the first persons to greet us on our arrival. We took tea at his house. His family consists of two daughters, both invalids, one particularly, in appearance healthy and handsome, but threatened with blindness. At half-past six we repaired to a meeting-house, and I read my lecture

[1] Joseph Grinnell, of New Bedford, who had been with him on a part of his summer tour.

on Society and Civilization, from a stage in front of the pulpit, before a table with four wax candles. I read the manuscript with great difficulty and frequent hesitation. A crowded house and listening auditory—an hour and a half.

ALBANY, 27th.—In crossing the river last evening I felt as if I was incrusted in a bed of snow. The sun had peered out just before going down, but set in a cloud. We lodged at Congress Hall, where I was surprised to meet Mr. Josiah Quincy, Jr., and a young Englishman named Crawford, who, two days before, had been introduced to me at Dedham. The Lieutenant-Governor and Senate of New York are in session as the Supreme Court of Error, and most of them were lodging at Congress Hall, as was the United States District Judge Conkling, whom I met in the entry, and who told me he had been holding a Court.

When I awoke this morning I heard a rattling of hail against the windows of my bed-chamber, which continued, and turned to snow. I wrote till half-past six, when I sallied out to the barber's shop, adjoining the Hall, and was shaved. As I was putting on my coat, after coming out of the hands of the shaver, another man, who was sitting on the anxious stool, looking at me, says, "Who is that stranger?" Said I, "My name is John Quincy Adams, if you ever heard it before." "I thought so," said he, and, starting up with his face covered with lather, came and shook hands with me, and said his name was Weeks.

At seven o'clock we breakfasted, and at eight were driven in a cab omnibus to the train of Western cars, which were frozen to the ground, so that it took half an hour of hard tugging and scourging of horses to get them loose. Another half-hour was lost in raising to its operative point the steam of the locomotive, and the snow falling incessantly on the rail made it so slippery that great care was necessary to guard the wheels from slipping off the rail. The snow continued inexorably till we arrived at Utica, nearly two hours belated. Precisely such an accident had happened to me on the 1st of December, 1841, when I first attempted the Western Railroad from Boston to the Hudson River. I did not expect it on the 27th of October; but Marshal

Bertrand had it last Monday, the 23d. And there was a snow-storm which covered the ground on the 18th. My only resource this day was to adhere to my seat in the car the whole way to Utica, with the windows closed, passing through Schenectady, Amsterdam, Little Falls, and Herkimer, and the whole valley of the Mohawk, as if in the dead of night. At Utica I found Charles Adams Johnson[1] at the depot, but his brother William[1] had gone on before to join us at Geneva. We had but half an hour to dine at Utica, during which Mr. Alexander B. Johnson came to bid us welcome and farewell. We started just before sunset, and reached Syracuse at half-past nine in the evening. The cars proceeded to Auburn, but we had our trunks taken out of the baggage-wagon, and took our lodging for the night here, to take the morning train to-morrow. Mr. J. P. B. Storer paid me an evening visit.

28th. There is no uniformity in human life more monotonous than that of travelling in railroad cars. We traversed this day one hundred and eighty miles of one of the most beautiful countries in the world, presenting at this moment a dreary and desolate aspect, like Nova Zembla in January, one white sheet of snow covering two-thirds of the way, and bare ground the remainder, interspersed with orchards loaded with apples. It was the same country through which I had passed last July with so many flattering testimonials of kindness and regard by the inhabitants. My passage now is silent and unnoticed. It is known only to Mr. Johnson, of Utica, and his family, that I am upon this road. At Geneva we found William Clarkson Johnson waiting for us, and he came on with us. At Auburn, Canandaigua, and Rochester, we met persons whom we had seen in the summer, but whose names all slip from my memory excepting Gideon Granger, son of Francis, at Canandaigua. The father is at New York. During the short half-hour for changing cars at Auburn, a gentleman went to give notice to Mr. William H. Seward that I was there, but he was not at home. We reached Rochester just before five P.M., and had half an hour to go to the hotel, dine, and return to the cars. We had yet eighty miles to travel, and night was coming on.

[1] Sons of a niece of Mr. Adams, married to Mr. A. B. Johnson here mentioned.

At Batavia, where the platform broke down when we passed through before, there was solitude now; but the keeper of the house, Mr. Hall, remembered me, and introduced to me his sister and his daughter. Of fellow-travellers we had many changes through the day. Several of them recognized and conversed with me, but left no trace of themselves on my memory, except the President of Geneva College, and I do not remember his name. From the railroad depot at Buffalo to the American Hotel we came in a double cab. At a quarter-before one, Sunday morning, they gave me a small bed-chamber for the night, and at two I was in bed.

BUFFALO, 29th. The room in which I slept was so small, so cold, and so dark, that they gave me another this morning, very comfortable, the same in which I had slept last July. Immediately after breakfast, Mr. Thompson, Dr. Johns, and Mr. Dobbins called on me and informed me that they, together with Mr. Hunter and General Charles M. Read, member of Congress elect from the Erie District of Pennsylvania, had been appointed a committee by the inhabitants of the borough to invite me to visit them on my way to Cincinnati—which invitation I accepted, and it was agreed that we should embark at eight o'clock to-morrow morning in the steamer General Wayne, in which those gentlemen had come down to meet me. Mr. Fillmore came in immediately after, and invited us to tea at his house this evening, and offered us seats in his pew at the Unitarian Church, which we accepted. The preacher was Mr. Hosmer, and his text was from Matthew vi. 31: "What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed?" He left out the preceding words of the verse, "Therefore take no thought, saying," so that the sermon was not directly upon the negative precept, but upon the anxious cravings of mankind for the supply of these wants, incident to their physical nature. The discourse was an earnest and affectionate exhortation to the auditory not to indulge this excessive anxiety for the necessaries of life, but to guard against them by industry, moderation, and frugality, and most especially by suppressing their propensity to lavish and extravagant expense, which he denounced as the besetting sin of the

age, and especially of the place. An excellent and eminently practical sermon.

Mr. Hosmer gave notice that the anniversary festival of the Protestant Reformation would be held this evening. I observed that the usage of the worshippers is to be seated during prayer, and to stand at the singing of the hymns. They use the compilation of the late Dr. Greenwood.

We dined at the hotel, and, by invitation of Mr. Rogers, attended the evening service of the Episcopal Church, where a stranger read prayers for the twentieth Sunday after Trinity, and Mr. Hawks, the settled minister, was the preacher. His text and his sermon have slipped from my memory—which is the fault, not of his mediocrity, but of my lethargy. Mr. Hawks is a young man, a brother of the celebrated Dr. Hawks, and married a sister of Mrs. Edward Stanly. Returning from church, I met in the street my old friend Albert H. Tracy, and was visited at the hotel by Lieutenant Williams, the engineer, and others. We attended a tea and evening party at Mr. Fillmore's, Mr. Love having insisted that I should first step in at his house, where his eldest daughter sang and played upon the piano "The Old Arm-Chair." Conversation with Tracy.

30th. We embarked this morning before eight in the steamer General Wayne, with falling snow, which began about five. We had many opinions of the great imprudence of going out in that state of the weather; but the deputation from Erie were impatient to get home, and I was not the less impatient to reach as soon as possible the point of my destination, Cincinnati. I made, therefore, no objection to departing, but thought it very reckless and absurd. By the time we were fairly upon the lake, the storm freshened, and, after heading it about an hour and pitching as if the boat would come to pieces, the captain lodged her at anchor under Point Abino, a small cove on the Canadian side of the lake. I did suppose that it was only for an hour or two, and that we should resume our progress, at least, immediately after dinner; but the storm continued and the snow howled the whole day, in the course of which a small coasting vessel, and the steamers Buffalo and General

Harrison, followed our example, and sought refuge under the Point. As a harbor, it is perfectly safe, and the gale was not very robustious, but cold as Nova Zembla. Most of the female passengers, and no small proportion of the men, were seasick; but my predominating sentiment was vexation at meeting this rebuff in the first moment of my committing myself on the bosom of Lake Erie. The captain insisted upon my taking his state-room for my berth—which I did, and lay down two hours after dinner. I was not conscious of having steeped my senses in forgetfulness one moment, but Mr. Grinnell thought I had taken a comfortable nap. I was extremely uneasy at the conscious imbecility of being wind-bound and doing nothing. I was in that state of mind which labors and produces nothing. I lost the day. There was a stereotype Bible without the Apocrypha, published by the American Bible Society, and presented by the Young Men's Bible Society, at Buffalo, to the boat. I disapprove the omission of the Apocrypha. There was also a volume of the Memoirs of the Life of Aaron Burr, by Matthew L. Davis. I read several pages of it, in confirmation of the opinion I have entertained of the trifling and profligate character of Burr. The character of his daughter Theodosia was not so bad, and not much better.

31st. I went to bed last evening before nine, from merely having nothing to do, hoping that with this morning's dawn the boat would be far under way, for the sky cleared off as the sun went down, with the promise of fair weather this day. I rose at four this morning, believing it was after sunrise, but on going upon the upper deck found my mistake, and returned to bed. I could not sleep, nor could I endure to pass another day doing nothing. I had promised to write some verses for Mary Foster. She is in a deep decline, and will probably not live through this winter. She has lately, through Louisa C. Smith, reminded me of my promise, and seemed to take it much to heart. As I was ransacking my thoughts this morning to write something, it occurred to me to turn the incident of our voyage into verse for her, and accordingly related it in seven four-line stanzas, which I composed; then rose, took my writing-paper, inkstand, and steel pen out of my trunk,

wrote the verses and a short letter, which W. C. Johnson copied into my letter-book.

At breakfast it was yet expected that we should remain wind-bound at Point Abino all this day and night. The morning was clear, the sun bright, and the water at the Point smooth and calm. But there was a heavy northwester blowing on the lake, and our captain was afraid to breast it. I sent for my diary and wrote up the record of Sunday at Buffalo, when, just before eleven, the captain determined to weigh anchor and try his luck again upon the lake. The other vessels which had taken refuge at the Point did the same, and we had a very pleasant day of navigation to Erie in the State of Pennsylvania, where we arrived about seven in the evening. The crowd at our landing was very great. I was taken by the committee of arrangements, one of whom was Mr. John Galbraith, to the City Hall, where a complimentary address was made to me by Mr. Sill, heretofore a member of Congress for this district. I answered Mr. Sill by an address to the assembled multitude. I then passed into another hall, where a few ladies were sitting, and others were constantly coming in. I made a short address on taking leave of them, and, with a military escort, a band of music, and a firemen's torchlight procession, I returned to the steamer and proceeded on my voyage.

I had promised Mr. Joshua R. Giddings to stop at Ashtabula, and to visit him at Jefferson, his place of residence; but my catarrhal cough, with hoarseness and a sore throat, has returned heavily upon me, with symptoms of fever. A stoppage at Ashtabula and Jefferson would delay me another day, and the roads thence to Cleveland are excessively bad—not without danger. With extreme reluctance I determined to pass on to Cleveland.

CLEVELAND, *November* 1st.—We landed at Cleveland at seven this morning, and here parted from Mr. Standart, one of our fellow-passengers from Buffalo, by whose advice we had come on without stopping at Ashtabula. From this place there are two modes of proceeding to Columbus, distant two hundred and thirty-two miles—one by land stages travelling night and day, with excessively bad and very dangerous roads; the other by

canal-boat on the Ohio Canal, which will take us four days to reach Columbus. We were advised by all means to take the latter mode, which we concluded to do, and took passage in the packet canal-boat Rob Roy, Captain Phillips. She was to depart at two o'clock P.M., and in the mean time I was to undergo a reception. I was first recognized at the barber's shop, while being shaved before breakfast. Immediately after breakfast a crowd of people thronged my chamber at the American Hotel, to be introduced and to shake hands with me. Mr. John W. Allen and Mr. Sherlock J. Andrews, heretofore members of Congress from this district, and the Mayor of the city, with multitudes of the citizens of all classes, pressed into my chamber, till Mr. Allen, with two other members of the committee of arrangements, took me to ride round the city; after which we called at the house of Mr. Beattie, who married a daughter of my old and true friend John W. Taylor, and at whose house he now resides, a helpless cripple with the numb palsy. A nephew of Mr. George N. Briggs was among the most active persons of the day; and a brother of George Bradburn told me that I should find him convalescent at Cincinnati. The reception was in a church. Mr. Andrews made the address to me, which I answered as usual, and shook hands with the men, women, and children; after which we dined at the American Hotel, and embarked in the canal-boat Rob Roy.

AKRON, 2d.—I came on board of the canal packet-boat Rob Roy yesterday very unwell with my catarrh, hoarseness, and sore throat, and some fever. This boat is eighty-three feet long, fifteen wide, and had, besides the persons I have named, about twenty other passengers. It is divided into six compartments, the first in the bow, with two settee beds, for the ladies, separated by a curtain from a parlor bed-chamber, with an iron stove in the centre, and side settees, on which four of us slept, feet to feet; then a bulging stable for four horses, two and two by turns, and a narrow passage, with a side settee for one passenger to sleep on, leading to the third compartment, a dining-hall and dormitory for thirty persons; and, lastly, a kitchen and cooking apparatus, with sleeping-room for cook, steward, and crew, and necessary conveniences. So much humanity crowded

into such a compass was a trial such as I had never before experienced, and my heart sunk within me when, squeezing into this pillory, I reflected that I am to pass three nights and four days in it. We came on board the boat at two o'clock, the time when she was to depart, but it was four before she left the wharf. We were obliged to keep the windows of the cabins closed against the driving snow, and the stoves, heated with billets of wood, made the rooms uncomfortably warm. It was a comfortless evening; but before its close I found that our fellow-travellers who shared the after-cabin with us were well-bred persons and pleasant companions. Mr. John B. Macy resides at Cincinnati; his brother Francis, at Portsmouth, Ohio; his daughter Charlotte, a handsome and amiable young woman, and Miss Langdon, of Buffalo, with fascinating manners, substitutes for beauty, relieved the tediousness of the evening. Mr. Russell, grandfather of Charlotte Macy, was also of the company, and Mr. Chamberlin, a young man who had met me at Cleveland with an invitation from the inhabitants of Akron to me to visit that place.

About eleven o'clock I took to my settee bed, with a headache, feverish chills, hoarseness, and a sore throat, and my "tussis senilis" in full force. After a restless, sleepless night, I rose twice, first at four and again at half-past six. As soon as daylight came, I was taken in a carriage to a hotel, where we had a plentiful breakfast. I was then taken again in a carriage to the Town Hall, where I was addressed, and answered by a short speech, after which I shook hands with the men, women, and children. Among the women, a very pretty one, as I took her hand, kissed me on the cheek. I returned the salute on the lip, and kissed every woman that followed, at which some made faces, but none refused. We returned to the boat, and continued all day our progress through the canal, at the rate of about two miles and a half an hour. I was able to occupy part of the day, morning and afternoon, with writing in this diary. There was snow great part of the day—no encouragement to open the windows, or to view the country through which we pass.

3d. In the course of yesterday and this day we passed

through the places named in the margin of Wednesday's page.[1] We reached Massillon last evening after dark, and, it being a considerable place, there were symptoms of a desire on the part of its inhabitants to give me a reception. Several of them came on board the boat. Two or three were introduced to me, but I could not retain their names. We finally persuaded them to let us pass on quietly. As acquaintance became familiar with my fellow-passengers, time slipped away more cheerily. They are all kind and obliging, the young ladies very lively and good-humored. The weather has been so harsh and churlish that we have not been tempted to open our windows, or to stand on the deck of the boat to see the country around us. The banks of the canal are so muddy that there is no comfort in walking. We see we are in a beautiful country, with a deep, rich soil, but much of it along the borders of the canal is woodland, and much with the wood cut down, and the stumps standing, like the pins of a bowling-green, and presenting an aspect rather of desolation than of plenty.

In the common dining-room and dormitory I made out with no small trouble and inconvenience to write for about two hours in the forenoon of yesterday and this day, and one hour of each afternoon, in this diary, but without fully keeping up with the flight of time. We beguile some of our supernumerary hours with card-parties at whist and euchre—a game of which I had never heard before. I write amidst perpetual interruptions, in the presence of half a dozen strangers, who seem to think me a strange, sulky person, to spend so much time in writing. The most uncomfortable part of our navigation is caused by the careless and unskilful steering of the boat into and through the locks, which seem to be numberless, upwards of two hundred of them on the canal. The boat scarcely escapes a heavy thump on entering every one of them. She strikes and grazes against their sides, and staggers along like a stumbling nag.

We passed, in the course of last night, through a settlement of Germans, called Zoar, a community under an absolute ruler, and this day through Gnadenhütten, originally a Moravian

[1] The names of forty-five towns between Cleveland and Columbus.

settlement, but now fallen into the ordinary track of breeding towns. This afternoon the sky cleared off, and on approaching a place called Roscoe, several of us landed, and walked about a mile, when we were obliged to return to the boat. W. C. Johnson dispatched through the post-office a letter which, at my request, he had written to my wife, and addressed to her at Washington, advising her of our progress. I find myself utterly unable to write.

About eight this evening, on taking a momentary look out, I saw a large circle round the moon, whence I predicted foul weather for to-morrow morning. Spent the evening at euchre, and, at ten, retired to my settee.

4th. About one o'clock this morning Mr. Grinnell came to my settee and awoke me, to communicate to me a letter just received from Mr. John Mathiot, late Representative from his Congressional district in that body, residing at Newark, earnestly inviting me to visit him and that place, where we were to arrive about sunrise. The messenger was dispatched with an affirmative answer, and I thought I slept no more for the remainder of the night. On reaching Newark we landed, and walked to Mr. Mathiot's house, where he and Mrs. Mathiot received us with great cordiality. Here I was shaved by an eloquent mulatto barber. Numerous visitors came in, who were introduced to me, all highly respectable-looking men, but of whose names and faces my memory can give no account. After breakfast we went to the Town Hall, I believe, crowded with good-looking persons of both sexes, and there a gentleman welcomed me with a complimentary address, which I answered as well as I could; after which I shook hands with them, men, women, and children.

We returned to the boat, and proceeded, to terminate our navigation at Hebron. Here we took leave of the Macy family, Mr. Russell, and Miss Langdon, whom we had found charming travelling companions. They proceed in the boat to Portsmouth, where the canal reaches the Ohio River. We are henceforth to go by land stages to Cincinnati. There was a stage ready to start as we landed, and a crowd of people at the door of the house. As I passed, a gentleman in the midst of

that crowd addressed me by name, and, with a very few complimentary words, gave me, in the name of the inhabitants of Hebron, a hearty welcome, for which I replied in words as brief, assuring the speaker that of all the addresses with which I had been honored by my fellow-citizens, there was not one more gratifying to my feelings than that which he had just uttered. Eight miles from Hebron we came to Kirkenville, where we dined; and, just as we were sitting down, in came Mr. William Greene, one of the committee of three sent by the Astronomical Society to Cleveland to accompany me to Cincinnati. They arrived at Cleveland Wednesday evening, after we had left that place. They returned by land to Columbus, whence Mr. Greene came out with a somewhat more representative stage-coach to meet us. To this we were transferred, and in it made our entry into Columbus, about four in the afternoon. Crowds of people in the streets, and at the door of Neil's Hotel, where we lodge. At eight in the evening at Dr. Hague's Presbyterian Church. The Mayor of Columbus welcomed me in the name of the inhabitants. I answered as usual, shook hands with the people, and returned to Neil's Hotel.

COLUMBUS, 5th.—From the close of the afternoon public worship until eleven this evening a succession of visitors disposed of my time. My catarrhal cough is returning upon me severely. The three members of the Astronomical Society of Cincinnati, who went to meet us at Cleveland and came back to meet us here, are persons of great respectability, and in their attentions to me full of kindness. Mr. Greene is a lawyer of Cincinnati, a native of Rhode Island, son of Ray Greene, heretofore a Senator of the United States from that State, appointed by my father Judge of the United States District Court in Rhode Island, and disappointed by Jefferson, who withheld his commission and appointed another man. Among our visitors one of the most attentive is Mr. Jesse B. Thomas, heretofore United States Senator from the State of Illinois, but now a citizen of the State of Ohio, residing about twenty miles distant from Columbus, whence he came for the sole purpose of meeting me. Mr. Sloane and Mr. Ridgway are unremitting in their good offices.

6th. A mulatto, by the name of David Jenkins, came to see me just after daylight, the only time, he said, when he could expect to obtain access to me, to return the thanks of the colored people of this city for my exertions in defence of their rights. He referred to a correspondence which he has had with me on this subject, and which I remembered.

We were to have left Columbus at eight this morning, but there were two military companies of Germans from whom I had received a message requesting leave to escort me out of the city, which I cannot reject. It delayed our departure about an hour, during which numerous visitors thronged the house, among whom was the Governor of the State, Shannon. The German companies, with a band of martial music, escorted us to the Scioto River and over it, and Mr. Neil accompanied us in person. Our first stage was fourteen miles to Jefferson, where there was a gathering of the people, with whom I exchanged greetings and shook hands. Then fourteen miles to Springfield, where we dined, and a similar intercourse took place. Then fourteen miles to Dayton, on our approach to which we were met by a cavalcade and a gentleman by the name of Odlin, with an elegant open barouche, in which I took a seat, and thus in triumphal procession we entered the city of Dayton. As we reached the hotel where we were to lodge, we found a vast multitude of the people assembled, and the Mayor of the city, from a stage erected in front of the house, welcomed me in a complimentary speech, which I answered standing in the open barouche. I then passed into the house, between a dense mass of population on both sides, but, as there was no general shaking of hands, as usual, immediately after the address, I was beset the whole evening by a succession of visitors in squads, to be introduced and shake hands, to every one of whom I was a total stranger, and the name of not one of whom can I remember. My friends Grinnell and W. C. Johnson give me every possible aid and encouragement in getting along; but the strangeness of these proceedings increases like a ball of snow. I cannot realize that these demonstrations are made for me; and the only comfort I have is that they are intended to manifest respect, and not hatred.

7th. All the morning there was again a succession of visitors, to shake hands, with the interval for breakfast, a walk round the city, and two calls at the house of Mr. Phillips, a wealthy citizen of the place, who, together with Mrs. Phillips and their son-in-law, Mr. Odlin, entertained us with the most cordial hospitality. Many ladies called at Mr. Phillips's while we were there, with whom we shook hands.

At eleven o'clock we left Dayton, and rode twenty-two miles to Lebanon; before reaching which we were met by a large deputation from the Astronomical Society of Cincinnati, consisting of Judge Burnet, Mr. John C. Wright, and others; also by a carriage and escort, with which we entered Lebanon in procession, where Mr. Thomas Corwin, heretofore a distinguished member of the House of Representatives of the United States, and late Governor of the State of Ohio, welcomed me at the Presbyterian church by an address of splendid eloquence.

These premeditated addresses by men of the most consummate ability, and which I am required to answer off-hand, without an instant for reflection, are distressing beyond measure and humiliating to agony.

After these ceremonies we walked in procession to the hotel, where crowds met and followed us. Mr. Bellamy Storer came in from Cincinnati, and sundry others. Through the whole evening there came a succession of visitors, among whom many ladies. Supper, from which I retired early, worn out with fatigue. Judge Burnet gave me a copy of the address which he proposes to make to me in the name of the Astronomical Society. W. C. Johnson read to me the part of my manuscript oration which I propose to deliver. A young Quaker limner of nineteen or twenty took an egregious caricature likeness of me in pencil, and told me that he took it for the bold and intrepid manner in which I had defended and sustained the right of petition; for which I thanked him. Afterwards, he said another idea had occurred to him; which was, that if I would adhere with patience and perseverance to the principles that I have asserted and maintained, all would ultimately be well. I told him I thanked him for his advice, and hoped to profit by it. This dialogue was exceedingly diverting to Mr. Greene, who

was present. The activity and unceasing attentions of this gentleman, since he joined us, have alleviated much my anxiety; but my catarrh, and excessive kindness, drive me to despair.

8th. We breakfasted at Lebanon, and proceeded twenty-two miles to Cincinnati. We had now with us a numerous committee from the Astronomical Society, and, on approaching the city, met a large cavalcade with several carriages, the Mayor of Cincinnati, and Professor O. M. Mitchel. I descended from the stage, and was conducted to an elegant open barouche with four horses, in which I took a seat with Judge Burnet, the Mayor of the city, and Professor Mitchel. The day was fine, and the sun shone bright; but Cincinnati is embosomed in a circle of steep and lofty hills—at the turn of a corner in descending one of which the pole of our carriage snapped short off, and we were obliged to pass into an ordinary barouche-and-pair. An immense crowd of people followed us to the Henry House, in Third Street, kept by Major Henry, where lodgings were provided for us. In front of this house there is a large balcony overlooking the street, upon which Mr. Spencer, the Mayor, delivered a complimentary address, welcomed me to the city, and introduced me to the assembled multitude, who answered by deafening shouts of applause. My answer was flat, stale, and unprofitable, without a spark of eloquence or a flash of oratory, confused, incoherent, muddy, and yet received with new shouts of welcome. The crowd then dispersed; but a continual succession of visitors beset my chamber till late in the evening, leaving scarcely an interval for dinner and tea.

The arrangements for laying the corner-stone of the Observatory, and for the delivery of my oration to-morrow, were concerted with Professor Mitchel, Judge Burnet, and Mr. Greene; but the address on the spot, in the act of laying the corner-stone, was not yet prepared. Worn down with fatigue, anxiety, and shame, as I was, and with the oppression of a catarrhal load upon my lungs, I sat up till one in the morning, writing the address, which, from utter exhaustion, I left unfinished, and retired to a sleepless bed. I fear I am not duly grateful to Divine Providence for the blessing of these demonstrations of kindness and honor from my countrymen; but I dread still

more the danger of being pampered and elated into vanity by them.

9th. I rose again at four, and before breakfast finished the address to be delivered at the laying of the corner-stone. A succession of visitors, invitations, and deputations ensued till ten o'clock, when a dense crowd of people gathered in the street fronting the Henry House, and the procession of the members of the Astronomical Society was formed. An open barouche, with four horses, was at the door, into which I entered with Judge Burnet, the President of the Society, Professor O. M. Mitchel, and . This was followed by other carriages, an escort of military companies, with a band of music, and an innumerable crowd of people. As we entered the carriage it began to rain, and we were obliged to raise the sides over our heads for shelter, and exclude the sight of me from the people, and of the people from me. The procession marched round sundry streets, the rain increasing till it poured down in torrents; yet the throng in the streets seemed not at all to diminish. It looked like a sea of mud. The ascent of the hill was steep and slippery for the horses, and not without difficulty attained. The summit of the hill was a circular plain, of which the corner-stone was the centre. At the circumference a stage was erected, from which my discourse was to have been delivered; but the whole plain was covered with an auditory of umbrellas, instead of faces. It was then determined that the discourse should be delivered to-morrow morning in the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, and the corner-stone now laid—which ceremony I performed, and read the address which I had written last evening and this morning, to which the circle of hearers gathered around responded by three hearty cheers. My manuscript was so defaced by the rain that it was scarcely legible. The procession then dispersed, and the barouche returned and landed me at the Henry House, leaving the only part of the ceremony important to me still to be performed.

In the evening there was a temperance tea-party, given by the ladies of Cincinnati, and to which I had been invited by Mrs. Burnet, Mrs. Staughton, and Mrs. Beecher. It was held in a large theatre, into which an old dwelling-house of Judge Burnet

had been turned. I walked to it with Judge Burnet, between a double line of a torchlight procession of firemen. Mr. John C. Wright addressed me, and presented me to the assembled ladies. I answered. Mr. Bellamy Storer made a flowery speech, and Dr. Beecher closed with a benediction. There was a sort of subterranean conveyance to the supper-room, which was crowded. I walked home with Mr. Wright.

10th. Breakfasted with Mr. John D. Jones, one of the members of the committee of the Astronomical Society, who went to meet me at Cleveland and returned to Columbus, where we met. Mr. Greene walked with me to his house, which is handsome and furnished with elegance without ostentation. His wife is a handsome middle-aged woman, of plain, unaffected manners, and they have a graduation of seven fine boys, with a very likely prospect of having seven more. A party of ten or twelve of Mr. Jones's friends partook with us of the breakfast. I returned to the Henry House, whence, at ten o'clock, the procession of the Astronomical Society went to the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, the largest church in the city. There, after a fervent prayer by Dr. Wilson, Judge Burnet delivered an address of about half an hour's duration, with some enlargement of the copy which he communicated to me at Lebanon. After a very brief action of thanks to him and to the Society for this address, I delivered about one-half of the oration which I had written, and it was well received. The house was full and overflowing. I spoke nearly two hours, without a symptom of impatience or inattention of the auditory. Resolutions of thanks to me, and to Judge Burnet, were adopted by the Astronomical Society, with requests of copies for publication, and a resolution that the Observatory hill should henceforth be called "Mount Adams." I then shook hands with the members of the Astronomical Society, and all others in the church who desired it, and returned to the Henry House. A crowd of visitors followed. Governor Moorhead and Mr. Southgate gave me urgent invitations to visit Covington—which I promised to do next Monday morning. Mr. Rariden, with a large deputation from Wayne County, Indiana, personally and in writing, gave me an earnest invitation there. Governor Hendricks gave

me a separate call. Deputations from Louisville and Lexington, Kentucky, came also. A sub-committee, from a committee of fifteen of the colored people, came and enquired when I would receive them; and I appointed to-morrow at ten.

We dined at Mr. John G. Pendleton's, with a party of about twenty—a splendid entertainment, in the highest style. Mr. Pendleton lives in princely state. He has two daughters married, and several sons. Mrs. Pendleton is a second wife, very handsome, and many years younger than he. At seven in the evening we returned again to the Henry House, and thence with Mr. Walker, an impromptu acquaintance, to the theatre, in the midst of the performance of the comedy of "London Assurance." After hearing part of two acts, without understanding the plot of the play, we retired, and went to a ball at Mr. Springer's, an opulent citizen of Cincinnati. The ball was splendid, the banquet sumptuous and temperate, and the company genteel and lovely. Thus closes, blessed be God, one memorable day of my life.

11th. We breakfasted this morning with Professor O. M. Mitchel. Mrs. Mitchel entertained us with great courtesy. They have seven children—five sons and two daughters. The party at breakfast was fifteen, and numerous visitors, chiefly ladies, came to meet us there. Professor Mitchel showed me a volume, just received, of the observations at the Imperial Observatory at Vienna; also a large transparency on a pasteboard tablet representing the planet Saturn as seen magnified through a large telescope. He said he had a number of these transparent tables, and called them his telescope; that he had exhibited them at his astronomical lectures, to the great delight of crowded auditories; and that they were the exciting causes of the enthusiasm which led to the formation of the Society and to their undertaking to erect the Observatory here.

Returning to the Henry House, at ten o'clock I received the large committee of fifteen of the colored people of Cincinnati. A young mulatto, son of a wealthy Virginia planter, but bearing the name of his negress mother, Langston, addressed me in their name in a speech of about fifteen minutes, which I answered in eight or ten. My answer was unpremeditated; but Edward

Cranch, who was present, reported it in substance correctly for the Cincinnati Atlas, a daily newspaper. This over, I went to the exhibition of the Horticultural Society, accompanied by their President, Mr. Buchanan. The show of apples was very fine; that of pears, good, but with little variety; grapes, next to nothing; shagbark-nuts, indifferent; no others; native wines, much like Adlum's—though I was told that Judge Burnet makes a thousand barrels of wine a year. The exhibition of flowers was dreary.

Our next movement was to the house of Mr. Longworth, the wealthy patron of the arts—of Powers, and Clevenger, and of the projected Observatory, any deficiency of funds for the establishment of which, by the contribution of others, he has promised to supply. We saw at his house a marble bust of Ginevra, by Powers; a large picture of Laertes with the dead body of Ophelia, by West; a copy of the Matron of the Chair; and sundry other pictures. A bouquet of flowers was presented to me by a lady at the Horticultural Exhibition, and an assortment of fine apples, with some nuts, were sent to me by the President, Mr. Buchanan.

At twelve I attended a meeting of the bar of Hamilton County, at which Judge Este delivered a highly complimentary address, which I answered off-hand, as desperation dictated. Mr. Southgate, of Covington, was there. Dinner given by the members of the bar, at three. Judge John C. Wright presided. Toasts. Speech by Judge Burnet. My answer. Bellamy Storer. Retired early. Gave Professor Mitchel my two manuscripts of the oration.

13th. A deputation from the inhabitants of Covington, of which Governor Moorhead and Mr. Southgate were members, came at ten o'clock, took me into an open barouche-and-four, and, in the ferry-boat, over the river Ohio, to Covington, in Kentucky. We were received at the landing by an immense crowd, which immediately formed a procession, and marched, with a military company and martial music, to the Episcopal church, where I was addressed with eloquent panegyric by Governor Moorhead, and answered to the best of my ability. The address was preceded by a fervent prayer from the minister

of the church. The shaking of hands with men, women, and children followed. A very pretty woman, as she took my hand, whispered, "The first kiss in Kentucky"—which I did not refuse.

Returning to Cincinnati, I stopped to visit Colonel Bedinger, an officer of the Revolutionary army in the war for independence, who told me he had been at the battle of Bunker's Hill, and with Washington at Dorchester Heights. He lives with his son Dr. Bedinger, but is much disabled. I rode with Judge Burnet and Professor Mitchel to the summit of Mount Adams, the spot where I laid last Thursday the corner-stone of the Astronomical Observatory. The prospect from it now, of the city in the valley and of the surrounding hills, with the windings of the Ohio River, is eminently beautiful. It is four hundred and fifty feet above the river, and no better site could have been selected for the building to be erected there. Before returning to the Henry House, we stopped at a daguerreotype office, where three attempts were made to take my likeness. I believe neither of them (succeeded). Our friends dined with us, and we took leave of them. About four P.M. we embarked in the steamer Benjamin Franklin, No. 6, Captain Blair Semmons, for Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. A vast concourse followed us to the vessel. The crowd at the landing was great, and, just as the sun sank behind the hills, the boat parted from the wharf, and I addressed a few words of final thanks and parting blessing to the people, to which they responded by repeated shouts of farewell.

My duty has thus been performed, and I am now upon my return to my home and to the discharge of other high obligations. There was a splendid evening, and a magnificent display of the canopy of heaven. Colonel Anderson goes with us part of the way, under a charge from the Astronomical Society, of which he is a member, to direct the movements of the boat.

14th. The night was nearly sleepless, and I was, of course, unfitted through this day for reading. I had received warm invitations from Maysville, Kentucky, and from Portsmouth, Ohio, to visit them and receive a welcome. Immediately after breakfast this morning we reached Maysville, sixty-five miles

from Cincinnati. On landing, we proceeded with a dense crowd of people to a hotel, where we breakfasted again, and then repaired, with the Mayor and a large deputation of the citizens, to the Methodist church. There I was welcomed to the city and introduced to the people in a highly complimentary address by the Mayor, which I answered, and, as I had done at Covington, included in my remarks a just tribute of respect to Mr. Clay. And here I solemnly declare that the charges of corrupt bargaining which had been trumped up against him and me were utterly without foundation. There has been a cordiality in my reception at Covington and here not surpassed even at Cincinnati. But the impulse is from the friends of Mr. Clay, and all the affectionate part of the caresses is meant for him. The Mayor thanked me warmly for my answer, and requested me at my leisure to furnish him with a copy of it for publication.

I met here Mr. Landaff W. Andrews, a member of the last Congress from this district, but who failed to obtain a re-election; also Mr. William Russell, late member from the Portsmouth District, Ohio, who came with a deputation from Portsmouth to accompany me thither. I re-embarked, after shaking hands with all the people at the church, and parted from Maysville with firing of guns, ringing of bells, waving of handkerchiefs, and huzzas. Idle morning. I sought an hour of repose on my bed, during which a steamer from Pittsburg passed by us and saluted us with three cheers. At half-past three P.M. we reached Portsmouth, fifty-five miles from Maysville, and went again through the same ceremony—a procession to a market-house, where the women were within the house and the men without, where, on a platform between the two, Mr. Peck read me an address of three long pages, to which I gave a short answer. After the shaking of hands, we returned in procession to the steamer. Here Colonel Anderson, Mr. S. P. May, Mr. William Russell, and the deputation, left us. We have numerous fellow-passengers, men and women. I passed great part of the day in the ladies' cabin, to which men are here admitted. Of the passengers in the ladies' cabin, are Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton, of Hanging Rock; Mrs. Stillwell, from Vicks-

burg, where her husband remains; she is going to Philadelphia; Miss Mary Emma Rhey, of Pittsburg, with her brother, and Miss Amanda McIlhenny, of New Castle, Pennsylvania, twenty-five miles from Pittsburg. With these ladies Mr. Johnson soon made us familiar by whist-parties; and Miss McIlhenny, a beautiful girl of about twenty, observing me dispirited, came and sat down by me at my request, and cheered me with several delightful songs.

15th.[1] Our course up the river is as follows. We passed by Gallipolis about four this morning without seeing it, and reached Marietta at half-past three this afternoon. I had received invitations to visit Marietta, and landed there with the usual demonstrations of welcome—a great crowd of people, guns fired, bells rung, and a procession to the Presbyterian church, where an address of welcome was read by Judge Putnam, a son of General Rufus Putnam. In my answer, referring to the interest I had always taken in the city of Marietta, I related the incident of my visit to the Rev. Manasseh Cutler at his house in Ipswich hamlet after his return from his visit to Marietta in 1788, and of my conversation with him concerning the Western country at that time; and I said that from the time of that conversation I had taken a deep interest in the whole West, and watched its progress, step by step, to its present great and flourishing condition. These remarks were received apparently with lively satisfaction, and the shaking of hands was with heartier squeeze than almost anywhere else.

After this ceremony I took a short ride round the city to visit the remarkable Indian mounds in this place. There is no tradition indicating when, or by whom, or for what purpose, they were constructed; but they are very extensive, and the central mound is about forty feet high, two hundred feet square at the base, and one hundred at the top, perfectly formed in its

[1] The following table of distances is given in the margin of the original:

From Cincinnati to	Maysville,	65 miles
	Portsmouth,	50—115
	Gallipolis,	85—200
	Marietta,	100—300
	Wheeling,	90—390
	Pittsburg,	90—480

symmetry. There is an article upon these works, by Dr. Manasseh Cutler, in the first volume of the Transactions of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. When we returned to the steamer, a committee of three members—Ephraim Cutler, Caleb Emerson, and Joseph Barker—embarked with us to accompany us to Pittsburg.

16th. Between two and three this morning we passed by Wheeling, in Virginia, where many of our fellow-passengers left us, and the deputation from Pittsburg—Messrs. Denny, Bakewell, Eichbaum, Darragh, and Stevens—came on board to meet us. As we passed, a gun was fired from our boat, and returned from the shore. There had been talk at Wheeling of inviting me to the place and giving me a reception. Many persons wished it, and many thought an invitation had been sent to me; but there was none. We passed equally by Steubenville, in Ohio, and Beaver, in Pennsylvania, without notice. The deputation from Pittsburg had expected our arrival there to-morrow morning, and all the arrangements had been made for a magnificent reception at that time. Among the rest, all the fire-company associations had held meetings and passed sundry resolutions for having a grand display of their own; and Mr. Brentlinger, as a deputation, (presented) a copy of their resolutions—one of which was that I should be conducted to some public building, where I was to be addressed in their name and should be requested to deliver an oration. And a temperance association, not to be behindhand with the firemen, had held meetings and chosen a deputation to invite me to deliver an oration upon temperance.

I delivered to Mr. Brentlinger an answer declining to pronounce the oration to the firemen. I shall take the same course with the temperance association. The Pittsburg deputation were sadly disconcerted at our arrival before the time, and seriously proposed that we should land at Rapp's settlement of Economy, pass the night there, and proceed to Pittsburg to-morrow in another steamer to be sent down for us; but this project was abandoned, and at half-past three in the afternoon we landed at Pittsburg. There was a considerable crowd of people assembled on the wharf, to whom, from the steamer,

Mr. Harmar Denny introduced me by name, and who received me with three cheers. The Mayor of the city, Mr. Alexander Hay, came on board to meet me, and at my own request walked with me to the Exchange Hotel, followed by the crowd, who were notified that the procession and reception would take place to-morrow morning, as it was regulated by the programme published in the newspapers of this day. The multitudes then, after three cheers, dispersed; but individuals were pressing in the whole evening. We had pressing letters from Mr. McKennan, of Washington, Pennsylvania, and from Mr. Andrew Stewart, of Uniontown, to know the precise moment when we shall arrive at those places. We first determined to go on Saturday to Washington, and on Monday to Uniontown; but, on remonstrances from Mr. Denny, we concluded to remain over the Sunday at Pittsburg, and to go on Monday to Washington, on Tuesday to Uniontown—and we wrote accordingly; Wednesday to Cumberland; Thursday, home.

17th. "Debellare superbos." There is a special providence in the fall of a sparrow, and, were it not itself arrogant self-sufficiency in me to believe, I should believe that this special providence comes to pass for the chastisement of my pride and vanity. The scene of laying the corner-stone of the Astronomical Observatory last week at Cincinnati has been repeated, with still more mortifying circumstances, this day at Pittsburg. That pageant was intended to promote the cause of science in the minds of the people. It had a moral purpose, an important end, to the attainment of which I heartily concurred. Had the day passed off successfully and without accident, the impression left on the minds of the spectators and hearers would have been favorable to the accomplishment of the undertaking, and honorary to me. The inexorable rain was literally a flood of cold water poured out on the whole ceremony. All was disappointment. But my duty, and the purpose of the Society in their invitation to me, were performed. The corner-stone of the Astronomical Observatory was laid, with supplication by me to the throne of heaven that the erection of the building may be conducive to the improvement of the condition of man upon earth. It is not for man to exult even in his good inten-

tions. It is his duty to bear disappointment, even of the best purposes, with resignation and equanimity.

The pageant of this day was of no earthly importance. It was ostensibly all honorary to me. I had been invited by the city authorities to visit the city on my way to or from Cincinnati; and it was a reception. A large procession, at the head of which I was exhibited in a barouche with four handsome horses, accompanied by the Mayor of the city, Mr. Hay, Mr. Harmar Denny, and Mr. Richard Biddle, started from the Exchange Hotel, where we lodge, with military companies, martial music, and all the companies of the Firemen's Association, in their respective showy and variegated uniforms, traversed, through the abundant mud streams, all the principal streets of the city, with a heavy, drenching rain pouring down all the time. We returned to the same Exchange, whence, from an open balcony, Mr. McCandless delivered by heart the welcoming address, of which he had sent me a copy. My answer was very short, apologizing for having come before the time, and declaring my unwillingness to detain them in the rain. The procession then terminated, the crowd dispersed, but came up in squads to my chamber to shake hands with me through the whole day.

18th. I had renewed applications yesterday from the Firemen's Association, who had determined at all events to have their torchlight procession, and equally resolved to have an oration from me; but I again declined. I did the same with the temperance association, at the head of whose deputation Judge Wilkins made the application to me. Judge Wilkins is a member of the approaching Congress, elect, and told me he would leave home on Monday for Washington, and offered me a seat in his carriage—which I declined, for the engagements to visit Mr. McKennan and Mr. Stewart.

I also received yesterday a large deputation from the Liberty party, with an address, and a request that I would meet and address them. This I declined. On the ground of having been invited here by the concurrence of all parties, I am interdicted from discoursing upon topics of deep party feeling; but, in a speech of about twenty minutes, I gave my opinions without reserve on all the slavery questions now in agitation. One of

the members of the deputation brought me this day a meagre and most imperfect abstract of part of my speech, which he proposes to publish as a part of it. I reminded him of several important omissions; and there were others which I did not notice.

I received yesterday and this day letters informing me of my election as an honorary member of the Webster and Tilghman Literary Societies, to which I answered by letters of acceptance.

We had last evening a very elegant party and supper at Mr. Harmar Denny's. This morning I wrote from the time of rising until eight, upon my journal; and immediately after, with Mr. Denny, Mr. Biddle, and Mr. Grinnell, I crossed the Monongahela in the ferry-boat, and visited Mr. Loreng's iron works, and another establishment, where we saw the process of rolling and hammering iron, and the work of the red-hot ball hammered into a bloom, and the blast. Thence, recrossing the river, we ascended to the top of the Court-House, whence beautiful prospects were in view—the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany Rivers, the Alleghany City itself, and the hills all around.

Our next visit was to Captain Howard and the iron ship on the stocks, which he is building for the Government. We saw one of the ribs of the ship fashioned from the anvil. Thence we rode to the United States Arsenal, about three miles from the city, where we were received and temperately entertained by Captain and Mrs. Harding. The river Alleghany flows beautifully in front of the building, and there is Washington's Island. I thought of my lamented nephew Lieutenant T. B. Adams, who was stationed here three years. Returning to Pittsburg, we visited the cotton factory of Mr. Bakewell, and saw the spinning-jennies and heard the rattling of the spindles and the looms. Returned to the Exchange Hotel at three.

19th. After returning to the hotel yesterday, I received the visits of ladies and gentlemen indiscriminately, and shook hands with them all. Among the persons who have been the most kindly attentive here has been Mr. Walter Forward, the late Secretary of the Treasury. He has two or three times mentioned to me that there would be some movement of memorial

here against the annexation of Texas to this Union. But I did not trust myself to speak freely with him. Mr. Forward is a worthy, well-meaning man, of considerable talent, and too pliable disposition—not the man of iron mould that the times require.

Last evening, after dark, I went with Mr. Grinnell and Mr. Johnson to visit Miss Rhey, one of our travelling companions from Cincinnati, who had sent me a beautiful bouquet of flowers and had invited us for last or this evening. We saw her father, mother, brothers, and sisters, a respectable family in private life. She was not at home when we called, but came in as we were taking leave. We were followed in the dark by a number of persons from the Exchange Hotel to Mr. Rhey's door.

We went to the Monongahela House, to visit Mrs. Campbell, and had not been there ten minutes before Mr. Hay, the Mayor of the city, rushed in, and said that the Firemen's Association torchlight procession were coming, having collected and exhibited themselves in front of the Exchange Hotel, and, finding me not there, had followed me down. I went out upon the balcony, and the Mayor announced me to the company. I addressed them in a few words of thanks for the honor done me by them, and of excuse from physical disability for declining a large discourse, after which they let me off with three bouncing cheers, while I heard a single voice saying, "Mr. Adams, give us a speech."

They then strolled off to Mr. McCandless's house, where they called him out and exacted from him a speech, which he gave them, and they dispersed.

20th. We left Pittsburg at eight o'clock this morning, for Washington, Pennsylvania. My stay at Pittsburg from Thursday last, when we reached it, has been tumultuary, honorary, and inexpressibly irksome. I had received from Pittsburg, at various times, testimonials of sympathy, which had already bound me in gratitude to the city, and I was pleased with an invitation which gave me the opportunity of expressing it in person; but these mass-meetings, at which I find myself held up as a show, where the most fulsome adulation is addressed

to me face to face in the presence of thousands, and where long premeditated written discourses are read to me, to be answered without a moment of reflection—all this is so adverse to my nature that it has, in a great measure, solved the continuity of my existence, and I am like one coming out of a trance or a fainting-fit, unconscious of what has been passing around me.

This morning Mr. Ewing and Mr. Read, the deputation who came to meet us at Pittsburg from Washington, Pennsylvania, had provided for us an excellent stage-coach, and travelled with us in it, with Mr. Baird. Mr. Hay, the Mayor of Pittsburg, and Mr. Harmar Denny, accompanied us over the Monongahela ferry, to the summit of the heights opposite the city, and there took leave of us. To the unremitting kindness and attentions of these gentlemen during the whole of our visit here, I have been under the greatest obligations. I answered last evening a very earnest invitation from Somerset, Pennsylvania, with an enclosure from Samuel W. Pearson, which required a special letter, though Mr. Pearson is a total stranger to me. I received also a letter of invitation from the Mayor of Cumberland, Maryland, through which we are to pass. Our stage travel this day was the first we have had on this expedition. 'Tis only twenty-five miles from Pittsburg to Washington, but it took us the whole of the day to travel them. Our first stage was to the half-way house; but nine miles short of Washington was Cannonsburg, and Jefferson College. Here we met Mr. McKennan and a cavalcade from Washington; but Dr. Brown, the President of Jefferson College, insisted upon my going to it, and there addressed me extemporaneously, and welcomed me in the name of the officers and students, to whom he introduced me. I answered the address, and shook hands with the students and others, then returned to the stage and proceeded to Washington, followed by the increasing files of horsemen coming out to meet us. Military company. Committee of reception. Exchange Hotel. Dinner. Rain and mud. Walk to the Court-House. Dense crowd of people. Address of welcome to me from the President of Washington College. My answer. Shake hands with the multitude. Walk to Mr. McKennan's house. Richard H. Lee. Tea. Visit to the Female Seminary. Address

of Miss Foster, the principal teacher, to me. My answer. Return to Mr. McKennan's. Party and supper.

21st. The stamina of my constitution are sinking under the hardships and exposures of travelling at this season and at my time of life, aggravated by the continual overwhelming kindness of my political friends, and the empty honors showered upon me ostensibly by the people as I pass along, but embracing only part of the people, and carrying with it no solid permanent opinion. They bring to my heart no feeling of pride, to my mind no new or useful truth. Momentary joy at the experience of kind treatment from my fellow-men. "Vanitas vanitatum," as spoke the inspired preacher, "O curas hominum, quantum est in rebus inane!" as spoke the Roman poet, bring me to the only just conclusion—humble submission to Divine Providence.

We breakfasted at Mr. McKennan's, and left his house in stages, at eight, in the midst of a heavy squall of thunder, lightning, and snow. We were accompanied by Mr. Andrew Stewart, member elect to Congress from the district, who came in last evening from Wheeling, and by two gentlemen, who also came last evening with an invitation to me to stop at Brownsville. I took leave of Mr. McKennan, his wife, four sons, and two daughters, all of full age or verging close upon it, and of Professor Richard Henry Lee, his two sons, fine boys, and daughter of about fifteen. Mr. McKennan's supper-party last evening consisted of about thirty gentlemen, professors and teachers at the college, and inhabitants of the vicinity, all well-bred, intelligent men. He proposed to them, in a temperate glass of wine, the health and happiness of his guest, which they drank, and to which I responded by my thanks, and by giving, "The county of Washington, the town of Washington, and the College of Washington, Pennsylvania. Success, prosperity, and happiness to all who belong to them." He then let me off to bed.

This day we came twenty-five miles to Brownsville, where we dined, stopping ten minutes at Centreville on the way. At Brownsville I was transferred to a barouche. Procession. Dinner, with a Roman Catholic priest at the head of the table.

The church building. Procession to the Presbyterian church. Address of welcome by a young clergyman named Adams, a cousin, descended from William Adams of Ipswich, son of the first Henry. My answer. Hand-shaking. Proceed twelve miles, on to Uniontown. Transfer to a barouche. Cavalcade escort. Military company. Band of music. Mud ankle-deep. Procession in barouche-and-four to Presbyterian church. Address of welcome, excellent, by . My answer. Take affectionate leave of Pennsylvania. Political remarks. Shake hands. McLelland's Hotel. Andrew Stewart takes leave of us.

CUMBERLAND, 23d.—At four I rose, dressed, and wrote till seven. We travelled this day on the railroad from Cumberland to Washington City. There was breakfast, of which I took a single cup of coffee. Neither Mayor nor committee of reception made their appearance; a number, not large, perhaps a hundred, of respectable-looking men, and half as many boys, gathered at the hotel or followed me to the railroad depot, and shook hands with me as I was seated in the car. Just after sunrise, at half-past seven, we started, and rode miles to Harper's Ferry, to dinner. Mr. Sidney Breese, U. S. Senator from the State of Illinois, was in the same car with me, and spoke to me. I did not recognize his person, though I have seen him before, and have had some correspondence with him. Most of the country we came through this day was within the bounds of Virginia—a plain, open, champaign country, covered with alternate fields of pasture and of green winter wheat just out of the ground.

At Harper's Ferry, where we arrived about two P.M., the offal of a train of cars from Baltimore was left for our party to dine upon. I found myself at table by the side of Benjamin Tappan, U. S. Senator from Ohio; and Mr. Wilkins, member of the House elect from Pittsburg, spoke to me, and said I might have come with him in his carriage, as he had offered me, but for my engagements on the road. Harper's Ferry I remember with pleasing and sad recollections of the Congress party from Georgetown, in the iron canal-boat, on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, in June, 1834.[1] It looks much now as it did then.

[1] Volume ix. pp. 140–142.

We now proceed on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, pass Ellicott's Mills with other reminiscences, and at the dusk of evening, five P.M., reach the Relay House and Thomas's viaduct, nine miles from Baltimore. Here we land with our baggage from the cars, which proceed forthwith to the Monumental City. We wait half an hour for the cars coming thence for Washington City, take our seats in them, and at half-past seven land safely at the foot of Capitol Hill.

WASHINGTON, 24th.—I have performed my task, I have executed my undertaking, and am returned safe to my family and my home. It is not much in itself. It is nothing in the estimation of the world. In my motives and my hopes, it is considerable. The people of this country do not sufficiently estimate the importance of patronizing and promoting science as a principle of political action; and the slave oligarchy systematically struggle to suppress all public patronage or countenance to the progress of the mind. Astronomy has been specially neglected and scornfully treated. This invitation had a gloss of showy representation about it that wrought more on the public mind than many volumes of dissertation or argument. I hoped to draw a lively and active attention to it among the people, and to put in motion a propelling power of intellect which will no longer stagnate into rottenness. I indulge dreams of future improvement to result from this proclamation of popular homage to the advancement of science, and am willing even to see my name perhaps ostentatiously connected with a movement to which I so long and so anxiously strove to give an impulse in vain. For whatever of vainglory there may be in this self-approving reflection, I pray to be forgiven. But I return to my home with the symptoms of speedy dissolution upon me. I had no conception of the extent to which I have been weakened by this tussis senilis, or pneumonia notha, or old man's cough. My strength is prostrated beyond anything that I ever experienced before, even to total impotence. I have little life left in me; but it is my duty to cherish that which God has given me, till it shall be His pleasure to take it back.[1]

[1] There can be little doubt that this statement is substantially true. Mr. Adams had much overtaxed his physical powers in this trip.

28th. Paid a visit to Mr. Moseley, the member elect from the Buffalo District, New York, who gave me some Dutch lozenges and talked about the election of the Speaker of the House. He said he was informed there was yesterday a long interview between William Wilkins and Robert Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, at which Mr. Wilkins was offered the Speaker's chair upon condition that he shall organize the committees to the taste of the slave-mongers. This is the desperation of Calhounism. Rhett is the man who oiled the palm of Cushing to make him Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in my place.

General Don Juan N. Almonte, the Mexican Minister Plenipotentiary, had requested of me by note a personal interview to make me a communication, as he had been ordered. I appointed between six and seven o'clock this evening, which time he had suggested, to receive him. He came, and delivered to me a copy of a letter of instructions from Mr. Bocanegra, the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, dated 18th March, 1843, ordering General Almonte, in an official visit to me, to tender to me the thanks of the Mexican Government and nation for the candor and generosity of my conduct towards Mexico, both in the Congress of the United States and at meetings of the people. I said I was happy to receive this testimonial of the approbation of the Mexican Government of my endeavors to promote peace and harmony between the two countries, and to observe the law of justice on the part of my country towards Mexico and all other nations.

December 2d. I had a morning visit from Mr. John White, the Speaker of the House in the last Congress, with Ex-Governor of Ohio Vance, and Mr. Harper, also heretofore a member from Ohio. They understand that of the members already arrived there is a number sufficient of Kinderhook Democrats to elect a Speaker against any combined opposition. They spoke of the preliminary question of the admission of members elected by general ticket. There is no doubt they will all be admitted in defiance of the law; but Mr. White expressed a doubt whether the ruling party would allow a discussion of the question, and supposed there might be some difficulty in raising

it. They intimated a wish that I would undertake to raise it, which I told them I would do if it was desired, but that the state of my health utterly disabled me from taking a leading part in the discussion or management of the movement.

I met at the House many members. I was told there had been this morning a Kinderhook caucus for the choice of Speaker, at which the Calhoun party, said to be fifteen, did not attend. The Whig caucus was to be held at four this afternoon, and Mr. Moseley promised to call on me this evening and inform me of its result. Returning home, I met on the way and spoke to T. W. Gilmer, B. Ogle Tayloe, with George Evans, Senator from Maine, Dillet, of Alabama, and Beardsley, of Utica.

3d. Mr. Hudson and Mr. King, members elect of the House of Representatives from Massachusetts, called on me last evening, and had much conversation with me on the prospects of the impending session of Congress and the inauspicious composition of the House. The question of the admission of the members from four States, elected by general ticket, must arise at the first movement for the organization of the House; but so overwhelming is the majority of the Democracy in the House that the Whigs are much perplexed to determine how to raise the question. They expect it will be strangled by a tissue of forms. The slavery questions are, in my estimation, more important than that of the admission of general-ticket members, and the aspect of the slavery questions is appalling. The most imminent of my dangers is the loss of my temper—from which I fervently pray I may be preserved.

4th. At noon I rode to the Capitol, and found the House assembled, the Clerk of the late House, Matthew St. Clair Clarke, having just called them to order, and beginning the call of the roll with the State of Maine and the name of Luther Severance. After Maine came New Hampshire, and the Clerk called the name of Edmund Burke, who answered. John Campbell, of South Carolina, rose, and objected to the admission of the members from New Hampshire, elected by general ticket, in defiance of the Constitution and the law. He offered to read a resolution, but was not permitted. Mr. Barnard, of New York, afterwards renewed the attempt to read a protest,

signed by fifty members of the House, against the admission of members elected by general ticket, but his right to read was denied, and the members were all admitted. One hundred and eighty-nine were announced to be present, and they proceeded to elect a Speaker vivâ voce. John W. Jones, of Virginia, had one hundred and twenty-eight votes, John White, of Kentucky, fifty-nine, and William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, one vote. Jones was declared elected, and was conducted by Walter Coles, of Virginia, and me, to the chair. Dromgoole moved to adopt the rules of the last Congress. I moved to except the rule excluding certain petitions. Other exceptions were moved and debated, till near four o'clock, when, without taking a final vote on the rules, the House adjourned. The usual messages passed between the House and Senate, and the usual joint committee of notification to the President was raised. Charles J. Ingersoll gave notice that he would to-morrow ask leave to introduce a bill for the relief of Andrew Jackson.

5th. I found the House again in session, and French reading the journal of yesterday. After it was read, Mr. Barnard moved an amendment to it, stating the fact of his having offered to read a paper, signed by fifty members of the House, in the nature of a protest against the admission of the members elected by general ticket; that his right to read the paper had been denied; that a motion had been made that he have leave to read the paper, which had been refused by a large majority; of all this there was not the slightest notice on the journal. Mr. Barnard moved to amend it and to insert upon the journal the paper itself. Debate thereupon arose, till Charles J. Ingersoll and Wise, the committee on the part of the House to wait on the President, came in, and Ingersoll announced that the message was coming. It came in shortly after, brought by John Tyler, Jr. After the message was read, Wise moved the printing of the usual number for the use of the members, and ten thousand copies with the documents; fifteen and twenty thousand were proposed by members from Alabama; but, after much debate, the House rejected the larger numbers and adopted Wise's original number, though he himself had snapped at the increased number with pike-like voracity. Cave John-

son added the precaution that the printing should be done by the printers to be elected by the House. Adjourned without resuming the debate on the amendment of yesterday's journal.

6th. I found the House in session, deep sunk in debate on Barnard's motion to amend the journal by inserting the Whig protest against the admission of the general-ticket members on that of Monday. The whimsical state of the question now was that the protest was inserted on the journal of yesterday, and was read as part of that journal this morning, so that the protest is in existence upon the journal, while the House is debating whether it shall be there or not.

After three hours of this hopeful debate, Cave Johnson moved to postpone it till to-morrow; which was carried. The House proceeded to elect a Clerk, vivâ voce. Votes, one hundred and ninety—Caleb J. McNulty, of Ohio, one hundred and twenty-four, Matthew St. Clair Clarke, sixty-six. Clarke conducted McNulty to the Speaker, who swore him in. McKay offered a resolution for the appointment of a printer, to which Gilmer (added) a silly amendment, and the House adjourned.

7th. Mr. John M. Botts yesterday requested me to present his memorial to the House, contesting the election of John W. Jones as the Representative of the Sixth Congressional District of Virginia, and claiming that seat, as lawfully elected to it himself. The memorial is long, and I thought before presenting it my duty was to possess myself fully of its contents. I accordingly read it attentively.

I had also been requested to announce to the House the death of Barker Burnell on the 15th of June last, the Representative elect to the present Congress of the Tenth Congressional District of Massachusetts. I employed the last evening and this morning in preparing the address to the House with which this annunciation is to be made. I found the House again in session, and, as I entered, Willoughby Newton, a member from Virginia, was presenting the memorial of William L. Goggin, contesting the election of Thomas W. Gilmer as the Representative of the Fifth Congressional District of Virginia. I then presented the memorial of Mr. Botts, and, as I was stating its contents, Jones slunk out of the chair, and Samuel

Beardsley, of Utica, New York, crept into it. I moved that the memorial should be printed, and referred to the Committee of Elections, when that committee shall be appointed; which was adopted without opposition. Mr. Newton then moved that Goggin's memorial should also be printed; which was carried, and Jones resumed the chair.

Then came a debate what business should be taken up, Mr. Barnard contending that his motion to amend the journal of last Monday had precedence, and the Speaker deciding that the business last under consideration at the adjournment yesterday must first be taken up now. White, the late Speaker, appealed, but the House—one hundred and seventeen to fifty-five—sustained Jones's decision. He afterwards decided that the previous question cut off all amendments. White took an appeal again, and again the House sustained Jones. After much trifling disputation, Gilmer's amendment was rejected, and McKay's resolution was carried.

8th. The elections of yesterday and the day before sufficiently prove that there is no schism in the Democratic party, and not the shadow of a party for the election of John Tyler as President of the United States. The House adjourned over to next Monday, to give the Speaker time to make up his committees. He asked to be relieved from the duty of appointing the Committee of Elections, and put Beardsley again in the chair. Parmenter moved that the Speaker should appoint all the committees required by the rule of the House, except the Committee of Elections; which, after some talk, was carried. Then Hopkins moved that the House should immediately choose a Committee of Elections.

I said I was not ready for that, and, if the House was, the universal conclusion out-of-doors would be that the committee was already packed, and it would have been better to let the Speaker appoint the committee himself.

Saunders, in furore, said that imputation was a conclusive reason for the House to choose the committee instanter. But the majority were not ready, and Charles H. Carroll, a graft from Maryland upon Western New York, an ostensible Whig, moved that Beardsley himself, Jones's substitute Speaker,

should appoint the committee. This, after some debate, was carried—ninety-eight to forty-eight. It was growing late. I said I would postpone to another day the communication I had to make to the House, and offered a resolution for the appointment of Chaplains; which was adopted, and the House adjourned over to Monday for the appointment of the committees.

12th. I went to the House, and, as I entered, heard French, now the Chief Clerk, reading the journal of yesterday, and pronouncing my name as first of the Committee of Manufactures, Charles J. Ingersoll Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, James J. McKay of the Ways and Means, and William Wilkins of the Judiciary. After the reading of the journal, Payne, of Alabama, whom Beardsley had appointed Chairman of the Committee of Elections, asked to be excused on account of physical disability. Barnard moved to amend the journal of yesterday by inserting the protest, and claimed precedence for his motion. The Speaker decided that Payne's motion to be excused from serving on a committee was a privileged question, and had precedence by his rising first. Payne was excused, and Barnard's motion brought up Hector Dromgoole and a growling debate, till between one and two, when Dickins, Secretary of the Senate, came in with a message announcing the death of Dr. Linn, a Senator from Missouri; whereupon a Missouri member pronounced his eulogy, and offered the usual resolutions, including adjournment.

13th. At the House, after the reading of the journal, I asked to be excused from serving on the Committee of Manufactures, the state of my health making it impossible for me to discharge the arduous duties of that office as they ought to be performed. I said I had other reasons, with which it was not necessary for me to trouble the House.

The vote to excuse me passed without opposition.

Reuben Chapman, of Alabama, and Edward J. Black, of Georgia, appeared and took their seats, and Black made a fiery speech. L. Q. C. Elmer, who, by the House's excusing Payne from serving on the Committee of Elections, has become Chairman of that committee, moved that the papers relating to the contested elections should be referred to it; which was done.

Garrett Davis moved that the Committee of Elections do enquire and report to the House whether the members from the four general-ticket States have been elected according to law and are entitled to retain their seats. Steenrod moved to strike out the Committee of Elections and insert a select committee; and up sprung a debate, which promised a day of bawling and chicanery, till between one and two, when a message came in from the Senate announcing the death of Samuel M. Roberts, a Senator from the State of Illinois; whereupon Wentworth, a member from that State, pronounced his eulogy, and the House adjourned.

14th. The Secretary of the Navy, David Henshaw, was as smiling and as courteous as his colleague Porter, of the War Department, had been. He said that if there was anything at any time in the Department which I wished to be done, if I would drop him a line it should be immediately attended to. Such is the way of the world. There is not a man living who has used fouler means to blacken my reputation and destroy my character than David Henshaw. Of the two, I prefer the growling sulkiness of Upshur.

At the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, I announced to the House the decease of Barker Burnell, the Representative elect from the Tenth Congressional District of Massachusetts. I added a speech of about ten minutes of well-deserved eulogy on his character, and moved the usual resolutions in honor of the deceased, including the adjournment of the House. They were adopted without opposition.

Mr. Wilkins, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, came to me and said he wished to have a long conversation with me upon subjects of importance referred to that committee. Mr. Collamer, now Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures, made the same proposition to me, which in both cases I accepted.

15th. At the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, Dromgoole called up the question about the rules. There was Garrett Davis's motion for the reference of the general-ticket elections to the committee, and Mr. Barnard's last motion to amend the journal so as to insert the protest, both of

which had precedence over the rules; but, with the consent of the movers, both these were postponed. Dromgoole's motion for a new rule, to exclude from the journals all papers not received by the House, first came up, and Collamer, of Vermont, made a short, sensible speech against it. Cave Johnson moved the previous question, which the Speaker decided cut off all amendments. Dromgoole wanted to have his new rule first adopted, and entreated Cave to suspend his motion for that purpose; but Cave was inflexible. The previous question was carried, and the rules, with the exception of the two struck out on Wise's motion, with my amendment for going into and coming out of committee of the whole by mere majority votes, were adopted, including the hour rule and the gag. Dromgoole then moved his rule for excluding from the journal any paper which the House refuses to receive; and it was carried without even taking the yeas and nays. Sundry other resolutions were offered, but William H. Stiles, of Georgia, arrested them by announcing the death of Colonel John Millan, a member elect of the House from that State, upon whom he pronounced an eloquent eulogy, and then moved the usual honorary resolutions; adopted without opposition, and the House adjourned.

Mr. John J. Crittenden, one of the Senators from the State of Kentucky, left with me for my perusal a private and confidential letter from H. Clay to him on the subject of Texas, dated the 5th of this month. He thinks Texas in Tyler's hands is a mere firebrand, to be noticed as little as possible. Mr. Crittenden concurs with him in opinion.

16th. I expended all the leisure of this morning in copying a list of the yeas and nays on my motion to except the twenty-third or anti-petition rule from the adoption by the House of the rules of the last Congress. Two hundred members of the present House have taken their seats. The vote of the Whigs has never exceeded sixty-five; that of the Democracy has not passed one hundred and thirty. The Democratic majority may be set down as averaging just two-thirds; yet on my motion the vote stood ninety-one to ninety-four—a majority of only three to retain the rule. Twenty-seven members from New York

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voted for my motion—only five against it; twelve from Pennsylvania for, and eight against it; Ohio, thirteen for and five against it.

This morning, immediately after the reading of the journal, the Speaker said the first business in order was the call of the States for petitions. This caused surprise—the practice of presenting petitions openly in the House having been superseded in the last Congress by that of presenting them silently at the Clerk's table and having them referred to the appropriate committees. The Speaker was now reminded of this practice, which he explicitly recognized, but called out, "Petitions are in order from the State of Maine." Mr. Barnard first urged to proceed immediately to the election of a chaplain, and, cavilling objections being made, moved a suspension of the rules—which was carried by a vote of two-thirds. Mr. Pettit had moved a resolution that the House would dispense with the election of a Chaplain for the present session; but this proposition was immediately scouted down. At the first vivâ-voce vote for Chaplain there was no choice; at the second, Isaac S. Tinsley was chosen. McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, moved the reference of the annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the finances, in parcels, to four separate committees. I objected to this, and insisted that the whole report should be referred to the Committee of Ways and Means—which, after a short and spirited debate, was done.

Then the Speaker called again for petitions, for which no one seemed prepared. The States of Maine and New Hampshire were quickly dispatched. Massachusetts was called. Parmenter and D. P. King offered resolutions of the Legislature, which were ordered to be referred and printed. The Speaker hurried on, and called Rhode Island and Connecticut, till Winthrop called him back. I then rose and presented a memorial from D. Appleton and Co. and ninety-six booksellers and traders, praying for an international copyright law, which was, after some discussion, ordered to be printed, and referred to a select committee. My next presentment was a petition from James B. Cooper, and five hundred and eighty-

five citizens of New York, praying Congress to separate the people of New York from all connection whatever with slavery; and this produced a blow-up and adjournment.

17th. The explosion which took place in the House on my presenting yesterday the anti-slavery petition of citizens of Western New York, is a premonitory symptom of the desperation with which the slave-power will be exercised in the present Congress. The Latimer petition, signed by upwards of fifty thousand names, was received at the last session of Congress and referred to the Judiciary Committee. The petition from New York, which I presented yesterday, contains the same prayer in the same identical words.

The Speaker instantly decided that it was excluded from reception by the gag-rule, now the twenty-third.

I remonstrated that on the journals of the last session it was recorded that petitions in the same words were received and referred to the Judiciary Committee.

Half a dozen slave-breeders were already on their feet.

The Speaker coolly said, "Does the gentleman appeal from the decision of the Chair?"

I said I had already too much experience not to be aware of the fate of any appeal from the decision of the Chair, but that I entreated the Speaker to revise his own decision so far as to look at the precedent on the journal of the last session. The Speaker said he considered the petition excluded by the rule. I then said that if the Speaker refused to look at the precedent I had no other alternative, and *must* take an appeal from his decision.

At this instant F. W. Gilmer started up in a panic and moved to adjourn—which, after a short respite to receive communications from the Executive Departments, was carried without opposition, the Speaker saying, in the most courteous tone, that he would very cheerfully examine the precedents.

18th. At the House, the new Chaplain, Tinsley, made the prayer, short of three minutes. After the reading of the journal, the Speaker said the first business in order was Garrett Davis's resolution to refer the general-ticket election question to the Committee of Elections. I enquired how it happened that the

call for petitions was superseded. He said that G. Davis's resolution was a privileged question, and thereby took precedence. Jameson made a long, bandit speech about his right to his seat being as good as that of any other member; and Kennedy moved a resolution declaring them all duly elected. Elmer moved a modification of G. Davis's motion, which Davis accepted, and the House adjourned without taking the question.

At eight this evening, I met Wise's committee on the revisal of the rules, in the chamber of the Committee of Commerce. Only seven members of the committee were present; we sat till near ten, and adjourned to meet Wednesday morning at ten.

19th. The committee for the revisal of the rules was raised on the motion of Wise, by a stale device to worm through the gag-rule at the commencement of a Congress, when the new members are most prone to renounce the rule, by giving them a pretext for retaining it for a time. This scheme was tried at the first session of the last Congress with entire success. The committee was announced yesterday morning. Henry A. Wise, John Q. Adams, George C. Dromgoole, Samuel Beardsley, John White, Charles J. Ingersoll, John W. Davis, Samuel F. Vinton, and Reuben Chapman are the committee; and in the course of the day Wise sent round to the members of the committee a notification to meet in the chamber of the Committee of Commerce last and every evening. Seven of us met accordingly. I found them assembled, Ingersoll and Dromgoole absent. We had some general conversation about the rules, and then agreed to take them up and discuss them seriatim. We went through eight of them, proposing petty amendments as we proceeded, and then adjourned. Wise had a copy of the rules, with manuscript proposals of amendment by French, now Chief Under Clerk of the Clerk's Office; but we found very little substance in them.

At the House, Wise moved a suspension of the rules, to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to dole out in driblets the President's message to the standing committees; and it was carried. Jones gave the chair of the committee of the whole on the state of the Union to Hopkins, of Virginia, and Wise parcelled out the message to thirteen or

fourteen committees. He came at last to some dark, no-meaning words about Western rivers and waters, and moved their reference to the Committee of Ways and Means. And now the West blazed out in a cross-fire of debate for three hours—when Weller, of Ohio, moved the committee to rise, and the House adjourned.

20th. At ten this morning I was at the chamber of the Committee of Commerce at the House, to which time and place the committee for the revisal of the rules was adjourned. Successively the other members of the committee came in, except Wise, the Chairman, and Dromgoole, who since Saturday night has been invisible. By a quarter-past ten there was a quorum of the committee; but they waited three-quarters of an hour for the appearance of the Chairman. I then observed that, being the second person named on the committee, by the rules of the House, in the absence of the Chairman, the duties of that office devolved upon me. I proposed, therefore, to resume the revisal of the rules in their order. The revisal had been made at the former meeting to the eighth inclusive; the ninth and tenth were now passed without alteration—when, after eleven, Wise made his appearance. Beardsley reminded him of the hour. He said he had mistaken it; that Mr. Espy had been holding him by the button till he grazed upon the time of the meeting of the committee, and he must take care that it should not happen again.

We then resumed the discussion of the rules, and, after some fizzing of steam at the sixteenth rule, which gives the power to the Speaker, or the Chairman of the committee of the whole, to clear the galleries in cases of disorder, we travelled through to the eighteenth and nineteenth rules, concerning the admission of stenographers into the House.

There was in the committee a general outbreak against this corps of reporters, and sundry restrictive amendments to the rules relating to them were proposed.

I told the committee that it was a hornets' nest, which it might be prudent not to disturb; whereupon the committee adjourned till to-morrow at ten.

In the House, the public lands, the Chesapeake and Ohio

Canal, David Levy's right to his seat as delegate from the Territory of Florida, and a national foundry, were of the usual usurpers on the business of the day. The question of reception upon Barnard's motion to amend the journal was at last, on the motion of Steenrod, laid on the table by yeas and nays—one hundred and sixteen to fifty-nine. Garrett Davis's motion directing the Committee of Elections to report on the validity of the certificates of the members elected by general ticket was at last adopted by yeas and nays—one hundred and forty-eight to thirty-two. Petitions. The Speaker reversed his decision of Saturday, and declared the petition of James B. Cooper, and five hundred and twenty-five citizens of New York State, not excluded by the rule; but the question of reception was made, and laid on the table—ninety-seven to eighty—and the new vital struggle for the right of petition commenced, in the midst of which the House adjourned.

21st. The National Intelligencer of this morning announces the death of Smith Thompson, a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. He died last Monday, at his residence at Poughkeepsie, in the State of New York. Mr. Charles H. Carroll, the Representative from the district, read to me yesterday a letter from Judge Thompson's grandson, Smith, written immediately after he expired, to inform Carroll of the fact. Judge Thompson was one of my colleagues, as Secretary of the Navy, in the Cabinet of James Monroe. Of that Cabinet there remain now living only John C. Calhoun and myself. Monroe himself, Crawford, Wirt, Southard, Thompson, have gone to their account. May I be also ready!

This morning I attended again the committee for the revisal of the rules, first in the chamber of the Committee of Commerce; but, as that committee meet at eleven, we passed into the adjoining room of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads. The Chairman, Wise, was again tardy, a full hour; and Davis, of Indiana, engaged upon another committee, came in still later. Dromgoole did not show his cognac face, though he did afterwards in the House, but without taking any part in the debate. The committee resumed the revisal of the rules, and, after discussing, adopting, or rejecting various proposed

amendments, came to the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, concerning the presentation and reception of petitions. Here was the stumbling-block. I moved to strike out the last clause of the twenty-fourth and the whole of the twenty-fifth rule. It was noon, and the committee adjourned till ten to-morrow morning.

In the House, the life-and-death struggle for the right of petition was resumed. The question of reception of the petition from Illinois was laid on the table—ninety-eight to eighty—after a long and memorable debate.

I then presented the resolves of the Massachusetts Legislature of the 23d of March, 1843, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, making the representation of the people in the House proportioned to the numbers of free persons, and moved it should be read, printed, and referred to a select committee of nine. And now sprung up the most memorable debate ever entertained in the House, in the midst of which the House, at half-past three, adjourned. I can give no account of it. Wise formally surrendered at discretion his citadel rule to the right of petition. Then came a cross-fire between Holmes, Beardsley, Weller, and French, till, at the motion of Belser, of Alabama, the House adjourned. R. D. Davis, of New York, had taken the floor.

The crisis now requires of me coolness, firmness, prudence, moderation, and fortitude, beyond all former example. I came home in such a state of agitation that I could do nothing but pace my chamber.[1]

22d. Pilgrim anniversary. The agony continues. Meeting of the committee on the revisal of the rules. Wise, the Chairman, came in reasonable time, but Vinton was very late. I had moved to strike out the twenty-fifth rule, and that part of the twenty-fourth which, at my motion, was adopted on the 29th of March, 1842, as a necessary substitute to obtain the reception

[1] In order fully to comprehend these emotions, it seems necessary to state that the report and the resolutions here referred to had been drawn up by a committee of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, of which the present writer was the chairman, and draftsman of all the papers. It is no more than proper to add that there had not been the smallest previous understanding on the subject between father and son.

of petitions at all. I insisted upon the questions being put on striking them both out together, which, after some discussion, was agreed to. The question was taken by yeas and nays—ayes, Beardsley, John W. Davis, John White, and Adams; nays, Wise, Chapman, and C. J. Ingersoll, who, as soon as the vote was decided, declared he was glad it had passed—it suited him exactly. Such is the double nature of the man. Wise had prepared a substitute ten times worse than the rule to be rescinded—the same that was palmed upon the committee to revise the rules at the first session of the last Congress—that, on the presentation of any petition, memorial, or paper relating in any manner to slavery, the question of consideration shall always be considered as raised, and they shall be laid on the table. Wise now declined to offer it, but Chapman did, and the vote upon it was—ayes, Chapman, Ingersoll, Wise; nays, Adams, Beardsley, Davis, Vinton, and White. Dromgoole would have voted against rescinding the existing rule, and for the substitute; but he was not present, and has not attended any meeting of the committee.

After this decision the committee discussed two or three more rules, and adjourned to Tuesday morning at ten. Wise, as Chairman, put into my hands French's paper-book and the minutes of the proceedings of the committee hitherto; said he was going to Virginia, and should be absent eight or ten days.

In the House, the journal, made up under the direction of the Speaker, stated that I was called to order for offensive words. I moved to amend the journal by stating that I was called to order by Saunders, of North Carolina, for *irrelevancy*, sustained by the Speaker—this pretence of irrelevancy being a mere subterfuge to suppress the freedom of speech. It was under this offensive act of the Speaker that I used the words at which he chose to take offence and to order me to take my seat. Barnard and Winthrop urged me to move to strike out the statement that I was called to order for offensive words; but with this House I knew I should fail on that motion, and as I did use offensive words, although they were not taken down, or even assigned by the Speaker as his reason for ordering me to take my seat, and the Speaker had no right to enter upon the

journal that he had called me to order for offensive words, I was willing to leave that entry as it was, adding the previous entry, that the Speaker had already sustained a slave-tainted call of me to order for irrelevancy. He agreed that my amendment should be entered on the journal.

The occurrences in the House yesterday and this day have been so extraordinary that they would require a narrative, which it is impossible for me to write out, but a brief summary of which I must borrow a supernumerary page to record.

Yesterday, after the long, snarling debate to suppress the enthusiastical petition from the State of Illinois, finally read, and, upon question of its reception, laid on the table, when I presented the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts and moved the reference of them to a select committee of nine, Jameson moved the Committee on the Judiciary, Cave Johnson a committee of one member from each State. Wise rose, called upon the reporters to take note of what he was about to say, asked the particular attention of the House, and declared once for all, and forever, that he renounced this WAR against Southern rights, which had been several years waged in the hall. He would vote for my motion to refer these resolves to a select committee, and hoped I should be Chairman of it, that the whole committee should be of the same complexion, and that the whole mass of abolition petitions should be referred to the same committee, that we might make a report in our own way, and the House and the country might see what we were after.

Whereupon Holmes, Beardsley, Weller, and French made frothy and foaming speeches about abolition. R. D. Davis rose to take the floor, and I said I hoped I should be indulged with an opportunity to say a few words; when the House adjourned.

This day, when the Speaker announced the call for petitions as the order of the day, R. D. Davis rose again to take the floor; but Preston King, one of the five members from New York who cling to the gag-rule, made a feeble attempt to deprive me of the floor to reply to the slave-mongers licensed all yesterday. He charged me with arresting the progress of the presentation of petitions.

I said I would not move a suspension of the rules to obtain permission to address the House, but only demanded a decision upon my motion to refer the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts to a select committee.

Hudson moved to suspend the rules to enable me to address the House, and Hunt, of New York, called the yeas and nays on the motion. The vote was one hundred and twenty-three to forty-six; and I spoke about an hour in reply to Wise, Holmes, Weller, and French—desultory, weak, and superficial —but effective.

Belser moved to lay the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts on the table. Lost—sixty-four to one hundred and four. Jameson withdrew his motion to refer them to the Committee on the Judiciary, and my motion to refer them to a select committee of nine was carried without a division.[1]

23d. I had received an invitation with a card from Mr. A. P. Upshur to attend a meeting of the Board of Management of the National Institute, to be held at the office of the Secretary of State at ten o'clock this morning. I attended accordingly. The meeting numbered about forty persons. It was to transact the business for which the evening supper-party had been gathered at Colonel Abert's last Tuesday, but which then failed by the non-attendance of the heads of Departments, who constitute the Board of Management. The Secretaries of State, War, and Navy were now present.

Mr. Upshur proposed me as Chairman of the meeting, and Joseph R. Ingersoll as Secretary; which was unanimously agreed to. Then resolutions were proposed and adopted, among which was one that a committee of five should be appointed by the Chairman, to draw up a memorial asking for the National Institute patronage and pecuniary assistance. All this had been prepared beforehand by Mr. Markoe, and I appointed this committee immediately, with Richard S. Coxe for their Chairman.

There was a resolution also that Mr. Woodbury should present the memorial to the Senate, and I to the House, and another that Mr. Walker should deliver an address at the next

[1] Obviously the effect of the popular ovation given to Mr. Adams during the preceding summer.

annual meeting of the Institute, and I an oration in February. I said I would very cheerfully perform the service assigned to me, should it be in my power, but it was extremely doubtful whether it would ever be in my power—certainly not during the present session of Congress. They altered the words to read, on some future day, of which due notice will be given. Charles J. Ingersoll made a speech, sensible enough, but dealing in generalities. Mr. Woodbury said he was a strict constructionist, but he had voted for the Act of Incorporation of the Institute (27th July, 1842), because it was in the District of Columbia, and because it was necessary for the preservation and safe-keeping of the curiosities collected in the several departments of the Government. The meeting adjourned about noon.

24th. I told Mr. Beardsley yesterday morning that I had thoughts of proposing to the committee on the revisal of the rules, to report in part immediately, to strike out from the rules the gag, and the counterpart for the reception of petitions; that is, the twenty-fifth and the latter part of the twenty-fourth rule.

He asked if I thought that would be the best way to get rid of the rule. I said I did. He said he was decided for getting rid of the rule.

I asked Mr. Markoe if it was true, as currently reported, that Mr. Wise was nominated for the mission to France. He said he would enquire of the Secretary of State—which he did, and said Mr. Upshur had answered, Not to his knowledge.

This morning, at the Foundry Methodist Episcopal Church, I heard the Rev. Mr. Colquitt, of Georgia, otherwise called Judge Colquitt, or Lawyer Colquitt, or the Hon. Walter T. Colquitt, Senator of the United States from Georgia. His text was 2 Corinthians vi. 1: "We then, as workers together with *him*, beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain." He had read the fifth chapter, and stretched over it the commentary of his text. He is the most thorough jack-of-all-trades in the public service, and much better suited for an ambassador for Christ as a Methodist preacher than for a member of either House of Congress. His action in the pulpit is too excessive for his sincerity; there is a convulsive motion in the muscles of his face, and his voice often sinks from a strong base organ into

ventriloquism. I have received a letter from a woman, a stranger to me, but who says she knows him well, and warns me to beware of him. The house was crowded, and his sermon was eloquent.

25th. I returned the visit of Mr. Charles J. Ingersoll, with whom I do yet make out to keep on speaking terms, but whose political morality is so dissolute, and his nature so treacherous, that my regard for him as a once-valued friend has more than once exploded. His double-dealing now is from a maggot in his brain, worming him into the belief that as a Representative of the Keystone State, with his transcendent talents, he is the man to hold the balance between the Northern and Southern sections of the Union, and that in the exercise of that umpirage he is to cast his dead weight always on the side of the South, as the weaker party. He has now prevailed upon nineteen of his colleagues of the Pennsylvania (delegation) to join him in a written recommendation to President Tyler of Horace Binney for the office of Judge of the United States, in the place of Smith Thompson. He knows well that Tyler will not nominate Binney; but his motive is twofold—first, to ingratiate himself with Binney, to whom he will take care to make known *his* recommendation of him; and, secondly, to prevent Tyler from nominating John Sergeant, as he fears he might (under the influence of Wise, whose wife is Sergeant's daughter) do. This is the nature of the man, and these are his ways.

The report in the National Intelligencer of my last Friday's speech is a very indifferent one, and contains several gross blunders. Mr. Leavitt's notes corrected them in part, but not entirely, and add nothing to the report except a note alluding to the call of me to order by the Speaker, and his order to me to take my seat.

There was circulated yesterday a printed hand-bill about Calhoun, Van Buren, and Texas. Mr. Leavitt had not seen it, and I lent it to him; also the Cincinnati Morning Herald, containing the reply of the committee of the Irish Repeal Association at Cincinnati to the answer of the Repeal Association in Ireland to a letter from the Cincinnati Repealers, written last summer, and containing an open, brazen-faced defence of the institution of slavery in this country. The present letter

disavows, in the most indignant tone and manner, the servile sycophancy of the last summer's letter, and exposes the abominations of the slavish power in this country.

26th. I attended, at the room of the Committee of Commerce, the committee for the revisal of the rules. Present, Adams, Beardsley, Chapman, J. W. Davis, C. J. Ingersoll, Vinton, and White; absent, Wise and Dromgoole, whose second week of drunken vacation has commenced. They call it a *breeze*. I proposed to the committee to report forthwith in part, that is, to rescind the twenty-fifth and the last clause of the twenty-fourth rule; but all the other members of the committee were averse to the proposal, and I did not press it. The committee proceeded to review the rules in their order, made sundry alterations—none of which appeared to me to be amendments—and wasted time in debating and rejecting other critical substitutions of synonymous words. Adjourned till to-morrow morning at ten.

In the House, there were attempts by several members to divert the order of business, which, not being duly repressed by the Speaker, consumed a considerable portion of the day. I enquired if the business left unfinished in committee of the whole on the state of the Union last week, that is, the parcelling out of the President's message to the committees, was not the first in order. The Speaker said it was not.

At last the Speaker called for petitions. I presented one from Connecticut, containing four prayers—the first of which was for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia; the other three prayers were not within the rule, and I moved the reference of the fourth—intercourse with Hayti—to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. The Speaker decided that the whole petition was excluded. This was contrary to the precedents. I appealed from the decision; but it was sustained by the House—one hundred and five to forty.

27th. At ten I met the committee on the revisal of the rules, in the room of the Committee of Commerce. We made some progress in the operation. But every member has whims of his own, to alter and amend; and, in the way of mutual concession, the members of the committee have so much deference for each other, that they adopt without discussion one another's humors,

and, instead of simplifying, complicate the rules and make debate for the House. This morning, all present except Wise and Dromgoole, they agreed by my casting vote to strike out the hour rule.

At the House, after the prayer by Mr. Tustin and the reading of the journal, the Clerk announced the select committee on the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts, proposing an amendment to the Constitution: Adams, Rhett, Joseph R. Ingersoll, Gilmer, Garrett Davis, Burke, Semple, Morse, and Giddings.

The States and Territories were called through for petitions in the course of half an hour. I had but one to present. Then came the call for reports of committees, and then for resolutions.

The first was that of Edmund Burke, of New Hampshire, that the House will proceed on Thursday, the 4th of January, to elect a Postmaster. The Calhounites had hitherto staved off this motion till now. They dared no longer to resist it. Burke moved the resolution, the previous question, and the yeas and nays, all at once. A motion to lay the resolution on the table was lost—seventy-three to eighty-four. The previous question was carried, and the resolution itself—eighty-three to sixty-nine. The quid pro quo for New Hampshire sycophancy to the South is patronage, and Burke fairly dragooned them out of their bowels of compassion for McCormick, the present Postmaster; he must go.

Hale, another member from New Hampshire, startled at an estimate of nine millions of dollars for the navy, moved yesterday a retrenchment resolution of enquiry about the home squadron. Charles J. Ingersoll made this day one of his snaky, rabid retrenchment speeches against Hale's motion, under color of supporting it. Steenrod moved the previous question. I said I should be glad to say a few words. He offered to withdraw if I would renew the motion. I declined. The House refused to sustain the previous question. I replied to Ingersoll.

28th. The visit of Colonel Twiggs and Mr. Baldwin last evening was for the purpose of convincing me of the absolute necessity of remounting the second regiment of dragoons. In the reduction of the army, which I urged with so much zeal

and effect at the second session of the Twenty-Seventh Congress, my purpose was to disband that regiment entirely, and it was carried by a large majority in the House. The Senate could only be brought to turn it into a rifle regiment, disbanding the horses. There was an agonizing struggle the whole of the last session to repeal that part of the Act of 23d August, 1842. It failed, and the horses were sold. And now the President recommends to remount the regiment, and Colonel Twiggs and Mr. Baldwin deem it indispensable.

Mr. John T. Towers, publisher here of a newspaper called The Whig Standard, sent me an extra number of the paper containing my speech of last Friday, as reported in the National Intelligencer of Saturday, with a note stating that he had a subscription to print a large edition of the speech, and requesting me to revise the copy sent me—which I did last evening, and I left it this morning at the Standard office. Mr. Towers showed me the subscription list for the speech, which amounted to four thousand copies.

Committee on the revisal of the rules. Present, Adams, Beardsley, White, Ingersoll, Davis, Vinton, and Chapman; absent, Wise and Dromgoole. The committee travelled through all the remainder of the existing rules, altering, amending, striking out, and adding. They then adjourned to Saturday morning, ten o'clock, when a fair copy of the code, as amended by the committee, is to be presented for their final action and vote upon it. And, with the exception of the striking out of the anti-petition rules, all the remainder of the report is not worth a wisp of straw; nay, it is worse than nothing, and the existing rules form a less objectionable system than the adopted report.

In the House, numerous notices were given by different members of their intention to bring in bills—a new practice, of which, I believe, I myself set the first example. The States were called through for petitions. Giddings presented one from a negro claiming to be free, a citizen of Virginia, named William Jones, but now in jail here and advertised to be sold for jail-fees. Giddings moved its reference to a select committee of five, with power to send for persons and papers. Another

explosion, and the subject laid over because it gave rise to debate.

29th. The record of yesterday must overflow upon this day. When Giddings presented the petition from the negro William Jones, now in jail and advertised to be sold for jail-fees, the whole slave-representation was up in arms. Fifty-five names are recorded in favor of a motion to lay the petition on the table. The Speaker ordered the whole subject to lie over, because it raised debate.

It was followed by a resolution of John Campbell, Chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, from that committee, for an instruction to them to report a bill for abolishing imprisonment for debt in the District of Columbia—which was carried; and then Hale's motion of enquiry about the home squadron came up, and was debated till Weller moved the previous question, upon which a quorum could not be obtained to vote, and the House adjourned.

I had notified all the members of the select committee on the resolves of the Massachusetts Legislature to meet this morning at ten, in the room of the Committee of Commerce. When I notified R. B. Rhett, he answered that he received the notice, but, immediately after, the Speaker announced and read a letter from Rhett to him, asking to be excused from serving on that committee. The House, without opposition, excused him.

The meeting of the committee lasted upwards of an hour. Present, Adams, Joseph R. Ingersoll, Gilmer, Garrett Davis, Burke, Semple, Morse, and Giddings. As the appointment of the ninth member in the place of Rhett had not been announced, it was agreed that nothing decisive should be done at this meeting; but Mr. Gilmer offered a resolution that the amendment of the Constitution proposed by the Legislature of Massachusetts ought not to be recommended. A desultory conversation was held, in which Gilmer and Ingersoll gave their opinions against the proposed amendment, and Mr. Giddings and myself in its favor. We adjourned to meet next Thursday.

30th. On returning yesterday from the Pension Office to the Capitol with Mr. Grinnell, I found the House in session, and just entering upon the discussion of the question what to do

with the petition of William Jones, the negro claiming to be a free citizen of Virginia, but now in jail here and advertised to be sold for jail-fees.

Saunders, of North Carolina, was arguing against any action of the House upon the petition; so did John Campbell, Haralson, Payne, and Cobb; but the leaning of the House was too strong the other way. R. D. Davis made a very eccentric or disingenuous speech, denying that there was any desire in the North for the abolition of slavery in the Southern States, and threatening an immediate dissolution of the Union by the North if the Southern States should immediately abolish slavery.

I presented a parallel between the fire and fury with which the House on the 18th of June, 1842, passed an Act, at the instigation of Edward D. White, to release from prison a white citizen of Louisiana, and the torpid lethargy of the House on this occasion.

The petition was finally referred to the Committee on the Judiciary without instructions.

A motion was then made to adjourn, but failed, the yeas and nays being called. Slidell moved to suspend the rules to go into committee of the whole to take up Charles J. Ingersoll's bill to refund Jackson's fine with thirty years' interest. The House went accordingly into committee, Davis, of Indiana, in the chair. Slidell made an hour's speech for the bill, but the passion to pass it was so red-hot that it had not patience to hear him. Stephens, of Georgia, moved an amendment to give the bill the form of a donation, with a proviso disclaiming all censure of Judge Hall; but it was scouted down insultingly. Past four o'clock Barnard moved an adjournment; the rabblement shouted No, and growled, "Pass the bill." Barnard set them at defiance, told them they would pass the bill, but the Senate would not, and was laying out for an hour of argument, when Charles J. Ingersoll told them there was no need of hurry, and moved the committee to rise—which they did, and the House adjourned.

Although the date of Saturday stands at the top of this page, the record is but a continuation of Friday. The House adjourned over to Tuesday.

This morning at ten I went to the Capitol to meet the committee on the revisal of the rules. Only four members of the committee met—Adams, Beardsley, C. J. Ingersoll, and Vinton: no quorum. Nevertheless, we proceeded to compare the copy made in the Clerk's office under French's direction of the rules revised by the committee, with the copy on which the amendments agreed upon by them were minuted down, and we found some errors to be corrected, and some rules requiring further revisal. We adjourned to next Tuesday morning at ten, hoping that we shall then have a quorum. I have some concern about the manner of printing the report. The discussion in the House will be difficult and perplexed, unless the existing rules should be printed in parallel pages with the proposed revisal, and, if they are, the chances are that the only important amendment made by the committee, the exclusion of the gag-rule, will not be adopted by the House; or be replaced by the substitute moved by Chapman, ten times worse than the existing rule. This, I have no doubt, is Wise's real purpose, and that his solemn parade of renouncing all opposition to the reception of abolition petitions was a cheat. I borrowed in the library Rose's Orlando Inamorato and Furioso, and found his sword Durindana in both of them.

In the law library I borrowed the first volume of a digest of the Pennsylvania Laws, containing the first Act of the Legislature of that State to abolish slavery. I met Mr. Giddings there, and he gave me the document containing the report of the Secretary of War.

January 1st, 1844.—I begin the new year, as I closed the old one, with praise and prayer to God—with grateful thanksgiving for the past, with humble supplication for the future. Physical nature never was more kindly adapted to the enjoyment of man in commencing the year, than it was this day at this place. The close of the last year was serene, mild, and beautiful. The entrance of the new annual portion of everlasting ages was yet more auspicious and cheering. The morning, noon, and night of it was delightful. I rose an hour and a half later than my time, but closed before breakfast the diary of the departed year.

From ten till three o'clock, an uninterrupted stream of visitors absorbed the time and exhausted my patience. It is generally meant in kindness—always in civility—and for a succession of fifteen years, since I left the President's house, has greeted me in still increasing numbers. Among the visitors of this day were some of the bitterest political enemies, North and South, that I have in the world. Holmes and Campbell, of South Carolina, Burke and Hale, of New Hampshire, were of the number, and Charles Jared Ingersoll, the cunningest and most treacherous cat of them all. Holmes, however, could not cover his sore with court-plaster. He made a merit of his visit, by saying he had come to see me, notwithstanding the sword of Orlando—a dash of ridicule that I cast upon him for his hectoring bravadoes of battle against the abolitionists. An hour of argument he could answer with blustering sophistry; an impregnable syllogism, with rhodomontadè; but Durindana cut so deep that he will never recover from the wound. Of all weapons in debate, sarcasm is the "lethalis arundo."

Immediately after I got disengaged from the throng, about three, I walked to Mrs. Madison's house and paid her a visit. Found with her several ladies, of whom were Miss Legaré, sister of the late Attorney-General, two Misses Bryant, daughters of another sister, and Anna Payne, who lives with her. I have piles of letters unanswered, and which I never shall find time to answer. To-morrow recommences the struggle, which, for me, can terminate only with my life. May the Spirit from above in life and death sustain me!

2d. At ten I met the committee on the revisal of the rules. Present, Adams, Beardsley, C. J. Ingersoll, White, Chapman, and Vinton; absent, Wise, Davis, and Dromgoole, the last of whom has not once attended the committee. Before the quorum was formed this morning, Beardsley told me that he thought the House would not confirm the vote of the committee to strike out the gag-rule, and he intimated that Davis, of Indiana, had changed his opinion, and would move to reverse the decision of the committee. But Davis did not attend. The members present, after a final cursory revisal of the whole report, instructed me to present it this day to the House, and to move

that it be printed, and made the order of the day for this day week. I told Beardsley that the action of the House upon the gag would depend entirely upon the perseverance of the twenty-seven members of the New York delegation, and that I was told the Richmond Enquirer had threatened that if they did persevere, Van Buren's claim to the Presidency would be forfeited.

He admitted the fact, and said that he hoped the members would not be moved by any such consideration; two or three weak-minded men might be.

In the House, the instant after the reading of the journal, Charles J. Ingersoll moved a suspension of the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the bill to refund Jackson's fine.

I asked permission of the House to present the report on the revisal of the rules, that it might be printed and made the order of the day for next Tuesday. Charles J. coolly said, "You can make your report;" but Reding, of New Hampshire, objected, and the House, by a vote of more than two-thirds, went into committee and took up the Jackson fine bill. Barnard, at the close of his fragment of an hour, was cut off in the midst of an unanswerable argument against the bill; and now followed the foulest and filthiest shower of slander, upon the long-since-deceased Judge Hall, that has been witnessed since the festival of the Harpies, in the Æneid—till Weller moved the committee to rise; but the House did not immediately adjourn.

3d. When Weller moved, yesterday, the committee on the Jackson fine to rise, it was for the purpose of having a full, fresh morning hour to disgorge his bilious venom against the Whigs and his sycophancy to Jackson, on the House.

When the committee rose, I again presented the report of the committee on the revisal of the rules, and moved that it should be printed and made the order of the day for next Tuesday. There was a disorderly, tumultuary opposition to receiving the report; but the Speaker did receive it, and stated the question of printing and assignment. Campbell, of South Carolina, called for a division of the question. There were

slave answers of no, but the Speaker, without heeding them, pronounced the printing, and took the question of assignment merely by rising. He declared sixty-three for and sixty-five against the assignment, and pronounced it rejected.

I, and many others, believed he had miscounted, and that the real majority was for the assignment. I was about to call for a count by tellers, but Elmer, Chairman of the Committee of Elections, had contested the floor with me for a motion that the committee should be allowed to employ a clerk. The instant the Speaker announced the decision against the assignment, Elmer got the floor and made his motion. Houston, a member of the committee, opposed it, and Charles H. Carroll started up and commenced a storm against the committee for neglect of duty in not reporting upon the contested seats of the general-ticket members. He was called to order repeatedly for irrelevancy, and decided by Beardsley, in the chair as Speaker, to be out of order, but persevered till the clamor for order was growing to a brawl.

Jones, the Speaker, crept in, and Beardsley out of the chair. Carroll was still vociferating, in spite of the decision that he was out of order. Elmer, to silence the charge against the Committee of Elections of neglect of duty, withdrew his motion for a clerk, and a slaver moved to adjourn. Carroll insisted that Elmer could not withdraw his motion, nor the other member move to adjourn while he was on the floor speaking. The Speaker decided that the motion to adjourn was in order. From this decision Schenck appealed; but the Speaker put the question, and the House adjourned.

This morning Mr. Jones, of the Globe office, came for instructions as to the mode of printing the report of the committee for the revisal of the rules, which I gave him. I had hoped to have some leisure for writing; but a flood of newspapers came, and noon was upon me before I had a quarter of an hour to look into the debates of the Virginia Convention upon the Constitution of the United States.

. At the House, after the reading of the journal, instead of Charles J. Ingersoll's spring-gun to go into committee of the whole on the Jackson fine bill, Payne, of Alabama, made

some fuss about the expense of warming the hall by a furnace below—which came to nothing; when Cave Johnson moved to suspend the rules for the purpose of calling the States for resolutions. Cave Johnson and Charles J. are now the leaders of the House—Wise not having yet returned from his Christmas holidays at home, and Dromgoole just now returned from his drunken holidays here. Ingersoll and Cave are indefatigable. The rules were suspended by a vote of more than two-thirds. The Jackson fine bill was turned adrift till further order, and the call for resolutions, not to be debated now, commenced.

A question was immediately started, whether, under a call for resolutions, members could introduce bills of which they had given previous notice. The Speaker decided first that they could not, and then that they could, and a goodly number of abortions were thus ushered into being.

The Speaker began with Maine. When he came to Massachusetts, I offered, first, a call upon the Secretary of the Treasury for the present condition of the Smithsonian Fund, and the origin of its investment in State stocks. Adopted without lying over a day, and without opposition.

I then asked leave to offer another resolution, which was tacitly granted. It was a call on the President for copies of all the instructions to the commanders of the squadron stipulated by the Ashburton Treaty to be kept on the coast of Africa, and copies of the British instructions to the commanders of their squadron, if they have been communicated to our Government. This, too, was adopted without opposition. Mr. Cary, of New York, offered a resolution to reconsider the vote of yesterday, declared by the Speaker to have rejected my motion to assign next Tuesday for the consideration of the report of the committee on the revisal of the rules. There was much chicanery to exclude the reception of this resolution. All this failing, Boyd moved to lay it on the table. The House refused, by yeas and nays—eighty to eighty-seven. The question then was direct on the reconsideration; but the Speaker was averse to putting it.

Davis, of Indiana, whose vote in the committee had decided the rescinding of the gag-rule, now voted to lay on the table

the motion to assign next Tuesday for the consideration of the report; and Beardsley urged to postpone the question of reconsideration till the close of the call for resolutions, with an understanding that it should then be immediately taken. It was clear that if I insisted on taking the question of reconsideration now, it would fail; and I consented to the postponement.

The call for resolutions continued; Rhett offered one, to instruct the Committee of Ways and Means to report a horizontal duty bill, and moved the previous question. The Whigs indulged him with a second, and then rejected his resolution, by yeas and nays—fifty-seven to one hundred and twelve.

John Campbell offered a resolution to appoint McCormick Postmaster to the House; but the Northern slavers had pounced upon their prey, and forced down the throats of their Southern accomplices an order that the House would elect a Postmaster to-morrow. So the Speaker declared Campbell's motion out of order. He then modified it into a resolution to rescind the order for electing the Postmaster to-morrow; but it availed him nothing. Weller moved to lay his resolution on the table, and called for the yeas and nays. Carried—ninety-four to seventy-six.

Thus it is that the Northern phalanx of the slave Democracy dragoon the South, in the distribution of the spoils, in return for their sale of the freedom of their constituents in the slave-market, as the Dutch traders to Japan purchased the privilege of dealing for spices, by trampling on the Cross.

Black, of Georgia, brought up Rhett's anti-tariff resolution in another form—an instruction to the Committee of Ways and Means to report a Tariff bill for raising revenue *only;* and this was rejected, by yeas and nays, by a majority of only one—eighty-three to eighty-four.

A. G. Brown introduced a bill to repeal the districting section of the Apportionment law. Campbell moved its reference to the Committee of Elections. Brown moved its reference to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union—which was carried.

Duncan moved an instruction to the Committee of Ways and Means to report in substance the repealed Sub-Treasury bill,

to divorce the Government from all connection with banks. Carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and ten to fifty-eight.

McDowell, of Ohio, ran the anti-tariff racer a third heat, by a resolution to instruct the Committee of Ways and Means to report a bill modifying the tariff to a collection of duties for the object of revenue, and no other. The House adjourned.

4th. I have named in the margin[1] all the members, including myself, of the select committee on the Massachusetts resolves, all of whom met this morning in the room of the Committee of Commerce, and, when that committee met, passed into the room of the Committee on the Militia. I moved that the committees should take minutes of their proceedings, and that when any member should present any resolution or motion in writing the question upon it should be taken if he desired it—which was agreed to, and Joseph Ingersoll consented to keep the minutes, at my request.

I then moved the two resolutions, which I asked the committee to instruct their Chairman to offer to the House, instructing the committee to enquire and ascertain as far as may be practicable the number of owners of slaves, and the amount of the chattel property represented, in the House.

Gilmer insisted upon taking immediately the question upon the motion submitted by him at the last meeting, in writing, that the amendment to the Constitution proposed by the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts ought NOT to be recommended.

I first moved, as amendment to that resolution, to strike out the word NOT, and then moved to postpone the consideration of it, to discuss my resolutions looking for calls for information, and to give time for argumentative reports on both sides to be prepared and submitted to the committee, and then to the House, if so decided by the committee. The question on postponement was carried by vote—seven to two—Gilmer and Burt only voting no.

Gilmer then invited me to state candidly my views in support

[1] The following are the names referred to: Adams, John Quincy; Ingersoll, Joseph Reed; Gilmer, Thomas W.; Davis, Garrett; Burke, Edmund; Semple, Samuel C.; Morse, Freeman H.; Giddings, Joshua R.; Burt, Armistead.

of the amendment proposed by the Massachusetts Legislature, which I did, in a very summary manner, disclaiming all intention of saying anything offensive to any member of the committee, compelled as I was to state the feelings of my constituents, under their sense of the wrongs endured by them, resulting from the slave representation in Congress. Burke and Gilmer said my father had contended that the slaves should be represented equally with the whites. But that was in the Confederation of States, without any representation of the people. Garrett Davis suggested that if information of the number of owners of slaves, and of the amount of their value, was to be sought, similar information of the numbers of other proprietors, and of the value of other property, would be equally necessary. From this I dissented, no other property being represented in Congress.

In the House, a bad example was introduced, of dispensing with the reading of a large portion of the journal. The call of the States for resolutions was immediately resumed. Tibbetts, of Kentucky, an oddity, moved a reconsideration of the yesterday's vote rejecting Black's anti-tariff resolution, for which he offered a substitute expressed in such generality as to mean nothing. Whether this was to ridicule Black, or for a cunning affectation of simplicity, it did not suit the anti-tariff slavers, and Saunders moved to lay the motion of reconsideration on the table—which was carried without division.

Then came up McDowell's resolution, upon which the previous question had been called yesterday when the House adjourned. The previous question was now carried, eighty-one to thirty-one, and the resolution rejected by yeas and nays, eighty-four to one hundred and two. Vinton then offered a resolution for the establishment of a new Committee of Commerce among the States. This is included in the report of the Committee on the Rules; but Vinton believes the report will be rejected by the House, as I suppose it will.

A multitude of other resolutions was offered, carving out business for the House, to consume time far beyond the first Monday of next December.

Dawson, of Louisiana, offered a resolution that on Saturday

next, at three P.M., debate in committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon Bill No. 1 (the Jackson fine bill) should cease, and the bill be reported to the House, with such amendments as may be agreed to by the committee, and moved the previous question; carried—eighty-five to fifty-five. Then the main question by yeas and nays, one hundred and eighteen to sixty-six—not two-thirds—and the resolution was lost.

Charles J. Ingersoll was utterly disconcerted at the declaration of the Speaker that this was a resolution, requiring a vote of two-thirds to be carried, and looked oppugnation, but finally concluded to take his seat.

Hunt, of Michigan, offered a resolution that the House now proceed to execute the order of the House directing the election this day of a Postmaster of the House. As this was a departure from the call for resolutions proceeding under a suspension of the rules, I supposed it would require a vote of two-thirds to be carried. The Speaker decided that a majority would suffice. I appealed, and the decision of the Speaker was sustained—one hundred and fourteen to fifty. The House proceeded to the election. Five candidates were nominated. At the first vote, McCormick, the incumbent, had eighty-four out of one hundred and eighty-nine votes, the rest scattered. At the third vote, J. M. Johnson had a majority of all the votes, and was chosen. McCormick was turned out, and the House adjourned.

5th. . Winthrop, Robert C.; . Adams, John Q.; . Ingersoll, Charles J.; Black, Edward S.; Chapman, Reuben; . Herrick, Joshua; . Leonard, Moses G.; Bowlin, James B.; Potter, Emery D. These are the members of the select committee on the Copyright bill, introduced by Charles J. Ingersoll, and the memorial of the booksellers for an international copyright law, presented by me. A bare quorum of the committee, dotted in the margin, met this morning in the chamber of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and conversed upon the subject of copyright internal and external. The conversation was general, and I offered some suggestions as to the natural right of literary property, to the principles of which, as entertained by me, Ingersoll immediately declared his dissent. His principles are radically depraved, and never can harmonize with mine.

Winthrop, the Chairman, was very desirous that I should assume the duties of that office and prepare a report, and Leonard, of New York City, expressed the same desire. But I declined, for want of time, and because to take from Winthrop, even at his own request, his office of Chairman, would savor of presumption. The committee adjourned to this day fortnight, the 19th.

In the House, the call for resolutions was resumed. The Territories only remained to be called. Levy, the delegate from Florida, abused the indulgence of the House in relaxing the rule which allows a member to offer only one resolution or one series of resolutions, on the same subject, at a time; he offered six resolutions which were at once adopted, six which were laid over one day, and ten bills, which were referred to several committees. I required that the bills should be read by their titles, and then enquired of the Clerk how many of them there were. Levy answered, Eight or ten. I enquired again, How many? He answered, Ten. I said we should certainly adjourn in May.

The instant the call for resolutions was closed, C. J. Ingersoll moved to suspend the rules to go into committee on the Jackson fine bill. I appealed to the good faith of the House, on the pledge under which I had consented to postpone the question of reconsideration on the case of the report on the rules, that the question should be taken immediately after the call for resolutions.

The Speaker said that there certainly had been such an understanding, but the gentleman from Pennsylvania had the right to move the suspension of the rules, and if two-thirds of the House should sustain him, it must be so. I protested against this decision, and appealed from it. Ingersoll exploded with a volley of insolent billingsgate upon me, and finished by withdrawing his motion to suspend the rules. The question of reconsideration was taken by yeas and nays, and carried—one hundred and two to seventy-eight. Ingersoll, after some other squirming, had moved to lay the motion for reconsideration on the table. I objected to his motion, as not in order, the last action of the House on the subject having been a vote respecting that same

motion, to lay the motion for reconsideration on the table. After enquiring as to the fact, and ascertaining it, the Speaker decided that Ingersoll's motion was not in order.

The question then was upon my original motion reported from the committee to assign next Tuesday as a special order for considering the report. I enquired if it would be in order for me to withdraw that motion and move to consider the report *now*.

The Speaker said it would not.

Cave Johnson enquired if the motion would be in order to make the report the special order for Tuesday.

The Speaker said that, in the opinion of the Chair, it would. I demanded the yeas and nays, despairing of the success of my motion. Dromgoole moved to recommit the report, intimating that after his return from the Christmas holidays he wanted to have something to do with it. I called him to order. He persisted in his motion, and the Speaker, who, five minutes before, had decided that it would not be in order for me to move to take up the report for consideration now, decided that Dromgoole's motion to recommit the report was in order and debatable.

I said that was precisely what I desired, but, five minutes before, the Speaker had decided that it would not be in order for me to move to take up the report now—a true sample of the Speaker's impartiality.

Black, of Georgia, now exploded—declared he would vote for the motion to recommit, and moved an amendment to it—that the committee should be instructed to reinstate in the report the twenty-fifth or gag rule; and then he launched out into a furious invective and defiance of the committee for emasculating the rules of the House.

The debate was now fairly under way. Davis, of Indiana, asked to say a word to set himself right, as he feared he had been the innocent cause of some of the difficulties of the House in this case. He had always voted, in concession to the South, against rescinding this rule, but he had always disapproved it, and believed it impolitic and unwise. If, therefore, the report should be recommitted, he should ask to be excused from serving any further on that committee.

Gilmer made a last abortive attempt to stave off the report by a point of order—when a long debate ensued, in which Houston, Haralson, Blake, Beardsley, and Clingman took part, till Dr. Duncan took the floor, and the House adjourned. The desperate conflict for the gag has just now commenced.

6th. I had received an invitation from the Secretary of the Treasury to attend a meeting this morning, at his office, at eleven o'clock, upon business connected with the National Institute. I attended at the Treasury Department accordingly, but the Secretary was not there. In one of the apartments of the building there were three or four members of the Institute, with the New Hampshire Senator, Levi Woodbury, acting as Chairman, and Mr. Markoe as Secretary. He said the invitations to the meeting had been sent under the expectation that neither House of Congress would have sitten this day. Its object was to complete some arrangements for holding the annual meeting of the Institute, next April. But, as the House would sit, Mr. Spencer and Mr. Ingersoll had agreed that the Board of Managers of the Institute were sufficiently authorized to make the arrangements for the annual meeting in April, and that the meeting of this day might be adjourned; and accordingly Mr. Woodbury did adjourn it without day.

Hurried to the House, where I expected Charles J. Ingersoll would start again his motion to suspend the rules, to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to take up the Jackson fine bill; but this time the Speaker saved him the trouble of making the motion to choke off the debate on the rules, by deciding that henceforth that debate would only be in order during the morning hour—a decision, like most of those of John W. Jones, deeply tainted with slavery. Upon this decision, Dr. Duncan, of Cincinnati, took the floor, and occupied three-fourths of the hour with a plausible, but, so far as relates to the real point at issue, an ambiguous, speech. He came out sufficiently clear and explicit against the rule, assuming the same ground as Hamlin, of Maine, John W. Davis, of Indiana, and Clingman, of North Carolina, did yesterday, of the constitutional and unalienable right of petition. But from this he quickly flew off into a bitter invective upon the abolitionists,

and upon the negro race—affirming without qualification the inferiority of that race to that of the whites, insisting that of all countries on the face of the earth Africa was the only one where Christianity, after being once introduced, has never been able to take root, and alluding in a tone of ridicule and buffoonery to the physical conformation of the negro, maintaining that no length of time, or change of climate, can change their complexion, their woolly head, their flat nose, or their crooked leg, or splay foot, and their effluvia. The slavers were highly delighted with this vulgar slang, and chuckled much when the Doctor, pointing directly to me, asked what my opinion on this subject was, and intimated that I owed it to my own character, and to the country, to answer his question.

I said, yes, but not on this debate, for I considered all that part of his speech as irrelevant to the question before the House, and if I attempted to answer it I should in three minutes of time be called to order, and the Speaker would pronounce me out of order for irrelevancy; but that on some proper occasion I would, if the House would let me, answer him to his heart's content.

He asked, in a still more pointed manner, a question of Giddings, with the intention of injuring him and Henry Clay. Giddings did answer him, sportively, but to his utter confusion.

As soon as he finished, A. O. Brown, of Tennessee, took the floor; but the morning hour expired in ten minutes, and the House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon the Jackson fine bill, which was debated till near five o'clock, when the committee rose, and the House adjourned. Douglas, of Illinois, made an eloquent, sophistical speech, prodigiously admired by the slave Democracy of the House.

8th. Immediately after the reading of the journal in the House this morning, Thompson, of Mississippi, moved a suspension of the rules for a motion to cease all debate in committee of the whole upon the Jackson fine bill at four o'clock this afternoon, and to take the question on the amendments and report the bill to the House. This is the formula for suppressing all debate, and was carried by yeas and nays—one hundred and sixteen to fifty-four—a more than two-thirds vote. Thompson

then moved his resolution, to smother debate and take the bill out of committee at four P.M. this afternoon.

Pratt, of New York, moved, as a substitute for Thompson's motion, a resolution to stop debate and take the bill out of committee in two hours, with a long preamble stating that the Legislatures of seventeen States, representing a population of fifteen out of seventeen millions of the people of the United States, had demanded the restoration of this fine; and then enumerating one by one the seventeen States, and the population of each of them, and concluding that therefore the debate on this bill should cease in two hours, and the question upon it be taken this day.

Thompson accepted this as a modification of his own resolution, excepting that he adhered to his own limitation of the time to four o'clock; to which Pratt acceded, and the resolution was carried. Thompson then moved to go into committee of the whole, and it was done—John W. Davis, of Indiana, in the chair.

Schenck, of Ohio, had the floor from Saturday, and made an hour speech of unrivalled eloquence in that department of debate which one of the Athenian orators called the Shears—cutting up the arguments of the adversary. Schenck said little about the first principles involved in this case, and not much about the facts, but he did cut up the malignant sycophantic declamation of Kennedy, Weller, Dean, and Douglas, so that there was scarcely a shred of them left. His manner is cool, firm, unhesitating, with conscious mastery of his subject; his voice clear and strong, his elocution neat and elegant, with a swelling vein of sarcastic humor, which more than once made the hall ring with shouts of laughter. He had got hold of Douglas, and was shaking him as a bull-dog shakes between his teeth a dead rat, when his hour expired, and A. V. Brown took the floor, and from that time, with the exception of a short quarter of an hour for Severance, the Jackson trumpeters blew till they brayed like jackasses. At four they passed the bill, and closed the day with a triumphal drunken bout at the Apollo Hall, toasting, and crepitating with a cannon in the street, till long after midnight.

9th. The select committee on the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts had adjourned to meet this morning at ten, in the room of the Committee of Commerce. They gathered one by one till about half-past ten, when they formed a quorum, and waited another half-hour for Joseph R. Ingersoll, who keeps the minutes, and whom I found in session with the Committee of Ways and Means. The members of our committee were all present, but we found on the mantel-piece a scrap of paper, which the door-keeper of the room desired me to look at. There was written on it, "Resolved, that this room is wanted for the Committee of Commerce every day, except those days when it is occupied by the Naval Committee." This was a mere effusion of paltry spite from Holmes, now Chairman of the Committee of Commerce, and the manner of notifying us was as ingenious as the resolution itself was courteous. But it put upon me the responsibility of finding a room for our committee to meet in.

Our meeting this morning was short. Gilmer pressed hard for the question on his resolution, that the amendment proposed by the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts ought *not* to be recommended. I consented to take the question upon my proposed amendment to strike out the word "*not*," and the vote upon it was six to three against striking out—Giddings, Morse, and myself only voting for it. I then moved to postpone the question on Gilmer's resolution to take up my two resolutions, that the Chairman be authorized to move the House for instructions to the committee to ascertain, as far as may be practicable, the number of the owners of slaves and the value of the property in slaves. The postponement was carried. Gilmer opposed my first resolution, on the ground that the committee had already, by their commission from the House, authority to obtain the information desired by my resolution. Whereupon I modified my resolution into a motion that the committee authorize the Chairman to obtain this information; which suited Gilmer's palate no better than the other proposition. But noon arrived, and the committee adjourned to Thursday morning, ten o'clock.

In the House, George W. Summers took his seat. The first

half-hour was eliminated, as usual, by disorderly motions for preference in business, among which was one of D. D. Barnard, which I could not prevail on myself to oppose, but which, after all, he could not carry, and then the whole hour was consumed in chicanery to stave off the discussion of the report on the rules. Dilatory motion after motion wasted time, till a motion was made to lay the whole subject on the table—rejected by yeas and nays—seventy-six to one hundred and seven. But the hour was gone. The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, R. C. Winthrop in the chair, on the references of the President's message. About four the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

10th. In the House, the rules were suspended by a vote of more than two-thirds, to receive undebatable resolutions and calls on the President and heads of Departments for information. Upwards of two hours were consumed in this process, which I patiently endured, knowing that I could now have but one hour a day for the report on the rules, at any rate. As soon as these crudities were digested, I called for the business of the morning hour, and the jugglery commenced, to choke off the consideration of the report for two weeks, which the Speaker had ruled could be decided by a bare majority of votes. Winthrop now moved an amendment that it should be made the special order of that and every succeeding day till the report should be gone through. The Speaker decided that this amendment would require a vote of two-thirds; but Clinton withdrew his motion to postpone. A. V. Brown occupied the remainder of the hour in a speech for the recommitment and instructions. The House then went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon the references of the President's message, and adjourned about four.

11th. I met the committee on the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts, in the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures, of which yesterday I had, by negotiation with the Speaker and the Doorkeeper, procured the use for the committee. All the members of the committee were present, but Mr. Morse was at least an hour tardy. My modified motion that the Chairman be instructed to enquire and ascertain, as far

as may be practicable, the number of owners of slaves in the several States and Territories of this Union and in the District of Columbia, was earnestly debated, Gilmer struggling to strangle it by a motion of amendment, proposing to request the Chairman, and each member of the committee, by the day of , to ascertain and report any information which may be thought pertinent to the subject of enquiry. I agreed to accept this, inserting, before the general, my special subject of enquiry, the number of slave-owners; and Sample moved to insert those words as an amendment to Gilmer's amendment, which was carried, five to four—Davis voting upon this question with Sample, Giddings, Morse, and me; Gilmer, Burke, Burt, and Ingersoll voting against us. The blank was filled with the 1st of February, Gilmer alone voting against it; and then the resolution as amended was carried by the same vote as my special object of enquiry, the number of slave-owners.

My second resolution was then debated. Ingersoll moved to strike out some of the descriptive words, which was carried by his own vote, and then my resolution as amended was carried, Gilmer, Burke, and Burt only voting in the negative.

Gilmer then moved that the journal of the committee be reported to the House; he meant immediately to produce an explosion. I moved an amendment, "with the final reports of the committee." My amendment was carried, seven to two, Gilmer and Burt only voting against it, and then the resolution as amended was adopted by a unanimous vote. The committee then adjourned to the 1st of February at ten o'clock.

In the House, the rules were suspended to receive reports of committees which would occasion no debate, and, under this order, Campbell, Chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, reported a petition from Lockport, New York, for a revision of the laws of the District of Columbia, with the unanimous opinion of that committee that it came within the gag-rule and should be returned to the member who presented it; and he moved the previous question. I thought it was one of the petitions presented by me, and protested against the report of the committee. The petition had been presented by Mr. Giddings, but was in substance the same as several others

presented by me. Campbell, to suppress all debate in presenting the report, had moved the previous question. Hunt, of New York, moved to lay the report and petition on the table, and that the petition be printed. This motion was rejected by yeas and nays—fifty-one to one hundred and eighteen—a vote which shows of what stuff forty of the members who have voted to rescind the rule are made. I attempted to show the direct falsehood of the report.

The Speaker stopped me by saying that the previous question had been called, and was not debatable.

I then moved that the report be laid on the table.

The Speaker said that motion was not in order, having just been rejected by the House.

I said the motion was not the same; that having been to lay the report and petition on the table, and print the petition; mine being to lay the report on the table.

He said I might have moved a division of the question. It was now too late.

Giddings raised a point of order, which, after some discussion, the Speaker dismissed by saying, "The Chair overrules the point of order." The previous question was carried—eighty-three to thirty-six; and the report was adopted by yeas and nays—one hundred and eighteen to sixty.

The whole transaction was a signal example of the tyranny of the rule and of the instability of popular assemblies, affected by sudden impulses and cramped in the freedom of speech. Immediately after this exploit, the report on the rules was taken up, with Dromgoole's motion to recommit, and E. J. Black's amendment, with instructions to report the twenty-fifth rule. Rhett made a speech of forty minutes on the right of petition, and Bidlack a third of a speech, which was arrested in the midst of a sentence by the expiration of the morning hour and the call for the orders of the day. Both these speakers were under deep agitation—Rhett, eloquent, pathetic, and full of absurdities; Bidlack, swelling with emotions which he had neither compass of mind nor fluency of language to express, and groaning between the upper and nether millstone of servility to the South and terror of his constituents.

The House then went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, R. C. Winthrop in the chair, on the references of the parcels of the President's message, and Rathbun, of New York, and Thomasson hammered upon it till past four o'clock, when the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

I commenced this evening a report to be submitted to the select committee on the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts.

12th. At the House, among the trashy and intrusive abortions of business that are daily usurping the place of the morning hour, McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon an appropriation bill of forty thousand five hundred dollars to supply a deficiency in the last year's appropriation for the protection and relief of American seamen.

I objected, and said there would be ample time for the passage of this bill after the expiration of the morning hour. I called for the order of the day; whereupon Joseph R. Ingersoll moved a suspension of the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union. I asked for the yeas and nays, but they were refused. The House, by a vote of more than two-thirds, went into committee, Wilkins in the chair. The bill passed in committee without opposition, was reported to the House without amendment, and passed in the space of a quarter of an hour.

I then again called up the report on the rules, and Bidlack finished his hermaphrodite hour speech, the main purport of which was that he had always voted for the gag in complacency to the South as long as they adhered together, but, as they were now divided, he was afraid he must leave them and vote the other way. He was followed by Belser, of Alabama, till the expiration of the hour. The House then went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union on the message, which reported in part ten of Wise's resolutions, and then rose, and the House adjourned.

13th. At the House, after the reading of the journal, Mr. Giddings claimed as a right to make a statement of what he deemed a breach of privilege, by a violent attack and false charge against him, published in the Globe of last evening.

Immediately the slave representation set their faces against allowing Giddings to make any explanation. The Speaker decided that it was not a privileged question—which made it necessary for a two-thirds vote to enable Giddings to defend his character against a cowardly assassin in a newspaper published by the printers of the House.

Schenck moved a suspension of the rules for that purpose. The vote was ninety-two to fifty-seven; and, the affirmative not carrying two-thirds, Giddings was deprived of the freedom of speech in self-defence before the House. It was curious to hear several of the subterraneans vote against his having leave to explain, and, when they found the vote in his favor, change their votes, to have the appearance on the record of having voted to hear him.

15th. In the House, James H. Relfe, of Missouri, moved to suspend the rules for a motion to discharge the committee of the whole from the eleventh resolution, offered by Wise, for parcelling out to committees the President's message, at three o'clock this afternoon. Ten of Wise's resolutions had been adopted in as many minutes, in committee, but had not been reported to the House. The eleventh opened the wide field of controversy on the question of internal improvements, and has been debated now for nearly a month, without seeming to approach a termination. Last Friday an attempt was made to take it out of committee by the gag process, which failed. I then proposed that when the House should next take up in committee of the whole on the state of the Union the partition message, they should report to the House, in part, the resolutions which they have adopted, leaving the rest to be further discussed in committee. This was accordingly done, and on Saturday the first ten of Wise's resolutions were reported to the House. Relfe, however, was impatient to dispose of the eleventh—the apple of discord—the internal improvement of the Western waters, and the Mississippi. Hence his motion to suspend the rules; but it failed, by tellers—seventy-one to sixty.

Next came a motion, by Weller, to reconsider a resolution offered by Patterson, to riddle all the pigeon-holes of the Post-Office for information to reduce the rates of postage, and to

abolish the franking privilege. This is a notion which has recently taken possession of the Northern postage-payers, and they are clamorous for reduction of the rates, and for the abolition of the franking privilege. In the debate of this day, the most important question of the concern was not touched at all. The subject was postponed till to-morrow.

The States were called through for resolutions, and it was prolific of Yankee notions. I offered a call on the President for the correspondence with the Government of Texas concerning the complaint of President Houston, that our troops had broken up their Snively expedition against Santa Fé. Objection was made to my resolution, and it lies over. E. J. Black gave notice that when the bill for organizing the Oregon Territory shall come up he will move an additional section for the provisional annexation of Texas to the United States.

16th. At the House, there was a remarkable development of a new phasis in the conflict of internal improvement. The day before yesterday came the intelligence from St. Louis, Missouri, that a large steamer, called The Shepherdess, from New Orleans, struck a snag within three miles of St. Louis and sunk instantly, with the loss of from forty to a hundred lives. Thomasson, of Kentucky, yesterday took advantage of this incident to move an instruction to the Committee of Ways and Means to report a bill making an appropriation for removing obstructions in the Mississippi and its tributary rivers. Thomasson made a pathetic speech about the disaster of the Shepherdess, and his resolution passed without opposition; but Cave Johnson afterwards moved a reconsideration of it, and brought up again the same interminable dispute about the constitutional power of Congress, which has been already drained to the dregs in committee of the whole on the President's message. Wilkins, of Pittsburg, had closed the debate of yesterday on the question of reconsideration. James B. Bowlin, of Missouri, led it off in an hour speech this morning, in the course of which he complained that the Committee of Ways and Means had struck out the sum presented in the estimates for improvements on the Western rivers. Joseph R. Ingersoll, and David L. Seymour, of New York, knew nothing of this crippling of the estimates;

but Weller, of Ohio, also a member of the committee, confirmed it. Andrew Stewart followed in an hour speech, urging Cave Johnson to modify his motion for reconsideration, so as to refer Thomasson's resolution of instructions not to the Committee of Ways and Means, but to the Committee of Roads and Canals. Stewart plunged into the tariff and the Presidential election question, and charged Van Buren with holding all internal improvements beyond the powers of Congress. Stewart worried out his hour, frequently interrupted by insulting comments and charges of falsehood by McConnell, and frequently called to order by the Speaker for irrelevancy.

Joseph R. Ingersoll followed him, in a flowery, courtly speech.

Kennedy, of Indiana, gave a new specimen of his brutal insolence; and Holmes, of Charleston, a specimen of his cunning casuistry. He announced an unanswerable legal argument to prove that Congress had the power to spend money for the improvement of the Mississippi, but of no other river. His authority was the Ordinance for the Northwestern Territory.

17th. I went to the Capitol this morning at eleven, and borrowed from the Law Library the second volume of Haggard's Admiralty Reports, containing (page 94) the case of the slave Grace, decided by Lord Stowell, in 1827, immediately before the abolition of slavery in the British West India colonies by Act of Parliament. I wanted also the twentieth volume of Howell's State Trials, containing the case of the negro Somerset; but the book was taken out by the Senator Rufus Choate.

I found the House in session, and Weller discoursing upon Cave Johnson's motion to reconsider Thomasson's resolution instructing the Committee of Ways and Means to bring in a bill appropriating money to remove obstructions in the Mississippi River and its tributaries. Weller was violent and abusive upon Stewart, and charged him directly with falsehood in his statements of Van Buren's doctrines concerning internal improvements. Stewart replied by repeating the statements, declaring that he would prove them from the letters of Mr. Van Buren himself. After a string of commonplaces from Thomas Smith, of Indiana, Samuel F. Vinton, of Ohio, took the floor, and, in a plain, sensible, and moderate speech, placed the ques-

tion upon its true foundations, and used up the pettifogging sophistry of Holmes. John J. Hardin, of Illinois, came next, and then D. D. Barnard, with an argument of irresistible force, but with a stern and peremptory tone and manner, which irritates even those whom it convinces. This is the drop of acid in Mr. Barnard's oratory, which curdles his eloquence. The cogency and self-confidence of his argument stung the brutal temper of Kennedy, the Indiana blacksmith, who grossly insulted him, without being rebuked by the Speaker. Cave Johnson finally got the floor, and retained it unfairly, moved an amendment that the Committee of Ways and Means enquire into the expediency of the appropriation, and called for the previous question—which was carried, and the amendment and resolution were adopted.

18th. Immediately after the reading of the journal, we had in the House one of those amiable exhibitions of good nature which the chattel-representation are so much in the habit of displaying.

The Colonization Society had obtained the use of the hall, and had held a meeting there last Tuesday evening. Not having finished their business then, they adjourned their meeting to this evening; but the Speaker was scrupulous about the exercise of his power to dispose of the hall, and insisted that the Society must again obtain the use of the hall by vote of the House. Before there was a quorum formed, Irwin, of Pennsylvania, moved that the Society should have the use of the hall. Edward J. Black, of Georgia, objected, saying that he regarded them all as abolitionists. Irwin explained, and moved a suspension of the rules to enable him to offer the resolution. The question was first taken by rising—seventy-six in favor of suspending the rules, less than twenty against it, but no quorum voting. Black persisted in his purpose. A call of the House was moved, and refused; a call of the yeas and nays was made, and refused. At last a member moved to adjourn, and called the yeas and nays. This brought the House to. On the motion to adjourn the vote was one to one hundred and fifty-eight. Then, on the motion to suspend the rules, the vote, by yeas and nays, was one hundred and twenty-seven to forty-seven,

and the resolution was adopted without an adverse voice. A full hour was consumed in this miserable chicanery by Black, and it is a sample of his daily manifestations of temper.

19th. Met, in the chamber of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, the select committee on copyrights. Present, Winthrop, Leonard, Bowlin, Black, and Adams. It was near eleven before there was a quorum. Ingersoll came in after the committee had adjourned. Absent, Herrick, of Maine, Chapman, of Alabama, and Emery D. Potter, of Ohio. While we were waiting for a quorum, Winthrop read a long memorial from Nahum Capen, of Boston, urging the expediency and justice of an international copyright law. Black came in a little before eleven, stayed but a few minutes, and said he wanted to make a report against the bill.

The committee adjourned to this day fortnight, the second day of February, after agreeing that Winthrop should report a resolution to print Capen's memorial, and five or six additional sections, which Ingersoll proposes as amendments to his bill.

In the House, Vance, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, moved a suspension of the rules for the reception of reports from committees, such as would give rise to no debate—which was carried against my remonstrance, and several reports were received, among which was that of R. C. Winthrop for printing Nahum Capen's memorial—which was adopted.

I enquired of Hopkins, Chairman of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, whether that committee would report a bill to reduce the rates of postage, and, if so, when it might be expected. He answered that the committee had taken the subject into consideration, but had come to no conclusion concerning it, nor did he know when they would report, but probably in the course of a few weeks.

The debate on Dromgoole's motion to recommit the report on the rules, and Black's amendment to instruct the committee to report the twenty-fifth rule, was resumed, and Hudson finished his hour, followed by Romulus M. Saunders, who clings to the rule with the grasp of death.

At the expiration of the hour, it being private-bill day, Cave Johnson moved the suspension of the rules to go into commit-

tee of the whole on the state of the Union upon the President's message—which was carried.

Weller, of Ohio, made an hour speech of more brutal fury than I ever heard—all pointed personally at Andrew Stewart, cheered and edged on by the Van Buren majority. Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, followed, but soon became faint. The committee rose, and the House adjourned.

20th. To the House. Hughes, of Missouri, offered a resolution to instruct the Committee on the Territories to enquire into the expediency of reporting, as soon as possible, a joint resolution requesting the President to give notice to the British Government that after twelve months the Government of the United States will annul and abrogate the Convention of 6th September, 1827. Williams objected to this resolution, that there was already one of the same import referred to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. The yeas and nays were called and refused on the motion to suspend the rules; but the resolution was rejected.

Wentworth, of Illinois, presented a memorial against the annexation of Texas to the United States, but said one of the memorialists had written to him that if there was any danger that England should get Texas, they were willing the United States should have it in preference.

Cave Johnson moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union on the reference of the President's message. I remonstrated against this, claiming the morning hour for the discussion of the report on the rules, but in vain.

The majority of the House are playing a game of fast-and-loose with me on this subject, and desert me whenever any opportunity is afforded them so to do. They went into committee of the whole, Winthrop in the chair, and jabbered about the Western waters, and in struggles to refuse Stewart the liberty to reply to the scandalous and insolent attack of Weller upon him yesterday. Every species of chicanery was used to deprive him of this privilege, and when granted he replied under continual interruptions and calls to order from the majority, and repeated insults and defiances to fight from McConnell.

At two the voting on the reference of the Western waters

commenced. Thomasson's amendment to Wise's resolution, and all the other amendments, were rejected, and the original resolution to refer the notice of the Smithsonian bequest to a select committee was amended by Burke's motion to refer it to the joint Committee on the Library. The committee reported, and the House adjourned.

Holmes, by way of bravado, immediately after Stewart concluded his speech, had made a motion to instruct the Judiciary Committee to enquire into the expediency of repealing the law against duelling, which was received with a shout of laughter.

21st. Light snow all the morning. I attended public worship at the Capitol, where the Rev. Justin Edwards, said to be from Boston, preached a discourse upon the sanctity of the Sabbath, from Mark ii. 27: "The Sabbath was made for man."

This question about keeping the Sabbath holy as a day of rest, is one of the numerous religious and political excitements which keep the free people of this Union in perpetual agitation. They seem to be generated by the condition of the country—in a state of profound peace. There are in this country, as in all others, a certain proportion of restless and turbulent spirits—poor, unoccupied, ambitious—who must always have something to quarrel about with their neighbors. These people are the authors of religious revivals. They formed, in the days of Washington's Administration, the germ of the Jacobin clubs. During the last war with Great Britain, they generated the Washington benevolent societies and peace societies. In later times they have bred the Masonic and anti-Masonic societies, the temperance societies, the colonization, abolition, and anti-slavery societies; and they are now beating the drum and blowing the trumpet for a holy Sabbath society. A numerous convention is already advertised to promote the cause, and Mr. Edwards has come to preach for it in the Representative Hall.

After announcing his text, he said that the word Sabbath meant *rest*, and that it was one of the ten commandments written by the finger of God upon stone as laws for all men, that after six days of labor there should be one day of rest. He dwelt exclusively upon the commandment, which he said

was a law of nature for man and for beast, who could perform more labor, enjoy more health, and live longer upon six days of labor and one of rest than upon seven successive days of labor. His illustrations were numerous, and his zeal intense and evidently sincere; but he took no notice of the (Saviour's) exposition of the true meaning of the commandment when His own disciples were charged with the violation of it.

22d. In my earnestness to recover the encroachment of time upon my diary record, and yet make progress in my report to be ready before the 1st of February, I was this day belated half an hour in my attendance at the House. I found it in session. It was the day for the reception of petitions, and the Speaker, who had begun with the Territory of Iowa, had already reached the State of Ohio in his call. Douglas, of Illinois, had made a report from the Committee of Elections on the contested elections, and Garrett Davis had promised a minority report. Elmer, the ostensible Chairman of the committee, had given notice that he would call up the report for consideration to-morrow two weeks.

Giddings presented several anti-slavery and abolition petitions; among the rest, one from three hundred and eighty-one citizens of Hampshire County, Massachusetts, praying Congress by law to prohibit the officers of the United States from assisting to arrest persons suspected of being fugitives from slavery.

There was much fluttering among the slavers. The Speaker decided that this petition was not within the twenty-fifth rule; from which decision Black, of Georgia, appealed. I called for the yeas and nays.

Saunders attempted to raise the question of reception, but the Speaker said it was too late. Jameson enquired if laying the appeal on the table would carry the petition with it. The Speaker said no. Wilkins said there was just such a petition referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Payne moved to lay the appeal on the table; carried—one hundred and thirteen ayes. He then made the question of reception, and Cave Johnson moved to lay that on the table. This is the wooden-nutmeg form of rejecting a petition without refusing to receive it. The question to lay on the table was lost—eighty-five to

eighty-seven; and then the question to receive was lost—eighty-five to eighty-six. In the interval between the two takings of yeas and nays, Freedom lost two votes, Slavery gained one, and the majority was changed.

Beardsley presented a petition praying for the repeal of the Act of February, 1793, and Weller moved to lay it on the table. Beardsley moved a call of the House, and Hopkins moved to adjourn, and it was carried. Another slip of the rattlesnake Slavery from the grasp of Freedom.

23d. A poor negro came in a state almost of distraction, to implore me to save his wife from being sold away. I asked him, how I could do that? He said, by purchasing her myself for four hundred dollars. I told him that was impossible. The poor fellow went away in despair.

After the reading of the journal, Charles J. Ingersoll Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, instantly moved a suspension of the rules to receive reports from committees. Cave Johnson suggested to him to confine his motion to one hour; to which he readily assented. Their object was to supersede the debate on the rules, and smuggle it out of the way. I knew it would be in vain to oppose the movement directly, and the suspension was carried without opposition.

Holmes, Chairman of the Committee of Commerce, asked from that committee leave to employ a clerk. Half an hour of piddling debate, and the motion laid on the table.

C. J. Ingersoll reported from the Committee of Foreign Affairs against a resolution offered by Robert Dale Owen, and referred to that committee, to request the President to give twelve months' notice to the British Government that we will abrogate the agreement of mutual occupation of the Oregon Territory. The report of the committee is that it is inexpedient for Congress to take any action whatever upon the subject at present. No sooner was the resolution of the committee read than Owen came out with a set speech against it; and as the hour drew to a close, when he moved a second suspension of the rules to go into committee of the whole on the Union, for him to continue his speech, this barely failed for want of two-thirds—one hundred and eleven to sixty-three. I called for

the order of the morning hour, Saunders finished, and Winthrop began.

24th. At the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, I called for the order of the day. Hopkins made an attempt to set it aside, but failed. Garrett Davis made a minority report from the Committee of Elections, on the question of the members elected by general ticket from the four States. Campbell moved the printing of five thousand copies of both reports. But the Speaker said the motion was not in order, and objection was made. His motion was not received.

The report on the rules was resumed. Winthrop finished his hour speech, an excellent one, but repeatedly interrupted by the addle-headed blunders of Rhett, about a precedent from Hatsell in 1665.

Winthrop was followed by W. W. Payne, of Alabama, in support of the rule. As he was closing, half a dozen members started up, among whom the Speaker recognized Joseph M. Wright, of Indiana, who began in so low and tame a tone of voice that I could not hear what he said. But the Speaker immediately told him the morning hour had expired.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Campbell, of South Carolina, in the Chair. Robert Dale Owen, the Scotch atheist, finished his hour speech for abrogating the Oregon joint occupation Convention. Thomasson just hinted objections. In the mean time, I had gone into the Senate-chamber and asked Mr. Choate for the twentieth volume of Howell's State Trials, which he afterwards sent me. On my return to the House, I found Wentworth roaming like a bull buffalo, about the Oregon Territory; but nobody followed him. Parmenter, acting as Chairman of the Naval Committee, called up the bill for authorizing the President to transfer naval appropriations, which started an amusing debate, and came to no conclusion. C. J. Ingersoll gave notice of a negro catchpoll bill.

25th. At the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, I called for the order of the day. But Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus Elmer, accidental Chairman of the Committee of Elections, presented a report on the contested election of Gog-

gin and Gilmer, closing with a resolution declaring Gilmer duly elected. He moved that the report should be referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and printed, and that the memorials presented to the committee on their first meeting, by both parties, should be printed.

Goggin is said to be sick at home. His friend Willoughby Newton objected to the printing of his memorial, because it rested on a state of facts which Goggin had reason to believe true, but disproved by subsequent evidence; the motive for printing it now being to prejudice the public mind against Goggin at home in his own district.

This gave rise to an acrimonious debate of three hours, the result of which was, by yeas and nays, to order the printing of both memorials, and also of the testimony. Schenck obtained leave to make a minority report on the same case.

I then struggled to get up the report on the rules; but the House refused to take them or anything else up, and adjourned.

26th. In the House, Charles J. Ingersoll bolted a whole day's debate by calling on the Speaker to turn out of the House Nathan Sargent, reporter for the United States Gazette, of Philadelphia, under the signature of "Oliver Oldschool," for what he charged to be a false report, but which was an exactly true report, of the scene in the House last Tuesday, when he asked the question whether I was the author of the Massachusetts resolutions of last winter against the slave-representation, and without answering him I turned away and called for the yeas and nays. Ingersoll made no motion, and there was no question before the House, and when called to specify the part of the report which he charged with falsehood, he said, the whole.

I declared to the House that the motive imputed to me by the reporter for not answering the question was true—that I did consider the question as a piece of impertinence, and therefore did not answer it.

After three hours of debate, without any question before the House, and numerous struggles to get rid of it, baffled by the joint partiality and imbecility of the Speaker, it was at last disposed of by a large vote of indefinite postponement. I then called the report on the rules, but the House would not

second me. It was postponed till to-morrow, and the House adjourned.

27th. Mr. Sargent called on me this morning to thank me for having interposed yesterday against the brutal and cowardly assault of Charles J. Ingersoll upon his character, in which afterwards Wise, with equal baseness, joined. The day before this sally of Ingersoll, Weller, with Payne and Belser, of Alabama, aiding, abetting, and edging him on, had knocked down, beaten, and wounded another reporter and letter-writer, named Shriver, for a report in the Baltimore Patriot of Weller's infamous treatment of Stewart last week; and some days before, Jones, the Speaker, had displaced Mr. Leavitt from the place assigned to him.

The simple truth is that the ruffians of the House cannot bear the exposure of their villainies by the press, and they combine with the Speaker to silence or smother its voice. In the midst of the Babel talk of Charles J. Ingersoll yesterday, Cave Johnson offered a new rule, that no reporters shall be admitted within the hall except those for the city papers. That was not in order; but he gave notice that he would offer it this day —which he did. Edward J. Black, of Georgia, moved as an amendment a rule for the appointment of reporters, to be officers of the House, and presenting in ridiculous detail what they shall report.

The Speaker did not favor either Cave Johnson's or Black's resolution, the object of both of them being to strangle the freedom of debate in the House, and of the press out of it.

Wise presented his minority report from the Committee on the Rules, signed, he said, by two members (himself and Chapman). The report was ordered to be printed. Charles J. Ingersoll wanted to say something about this minority report, but was not permitted.

The report on the rules was taken up. Joseph A. Wright, of Indiana, made a feeble half-hour speech against the gag-rule, and William H. Stiles began a long-concocted and elaborate speech in support of it.

The House went into the committee of the whole on private bills, and passed one into the House; besides debating nearly

an hour whether certain bills on that calendar were private or public bills. Then followed a long debate on a bill reported by Parmenter from the Naval Committee for the relief of the widows and orphans of the officers, seamen, and marines of the schooner Grampus, lost at sea. Levy, the delegate from Florida, moved to add those of the Sea-Gull. The debate continued, Gilmer in the chair, till past four.

30th. Between the preparation of my report on the Massachusetts resolves, and keeping time with my daily record, the labor is more than Herculean, and my correspondence is almost entirely suspended. Five days in the week, the report of the Committee on the Rules is the first business in order to be transacted in the House; and if I were to be absent one day when it would be called up, it would be laid upon the table without redemption. When I call it up, scarce a day passes but some dirty trick is devised to postpone the taking of the question. This day, Stiles, of Georgia, finished his hour speech, and twenty-three minutes were lost of the morning hour. A. Johnson, of Tennessee, another slave-holder, obtained the floor, and said he wished to deliver his whole speech at once, and so he moved to postpone the further consideration of the subject till to-morrow; against which I remonstrated in vain.

I hear it said that they intend to keep off the question upon the rules till after my report upon the resolves of the Massachusetts Legislature. This policy is a hint for the modification of mine.

The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, John Campbell in the chair, upon the bill reported by Parmenter from the Naval Committee, authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to transfer two hundred thousand dollars from one head of specific appropriation to another—say, from pay to repairs of ships. Cave Johnson led off, in opposition to the bill, seconded by Stephens, and then by Barnard. An amendment, and an amendment to the amendment, were moved, till it called up Wise in aid of Parmenter. Wise delivered a dissertation upon the usefulness and glory of the navy, with a general panegyric upon its officers, and especially upon the midshipmen; all of whom he pronounced fully qualified to be

admirals—all which was mere whipped syllabub. The amendment, and amendment to the amendment, were both rejected, and the bill was reported to the House, when it was ordered to be engrossed. The question upon its passage came up, and a motion to adjourn prevailed.

31st. I hurried up to the Capitol, to be there at the meeting of the House. The report on the rules was immediately taken up, and Andrew Johnson, a new member from Tennessee, made an hour's speech in support of the gag-rule, and especially abusive upon me. So they all are. I am compelled not only to endure it with seeming insensibility, but to forbear, so far as I can restrain myself, from all reply.

This man took at once the ground that Congress have no power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, because the Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland had no such power before their cession of the two parts of the District to the United States. All the arguments of the speech were upon a level with this.

When he finished, William C. McCauslen took the floor; but the hour had expired, and there was a call for the orders of the day. But Edmund Burke moved that the Speaker should be directed to adjourn the House at two o'clock. There was some objection made, and he withdrew his motion. Another member renewed it, and it was adopted without opposition.

It was to allow members to attend the obsequies of Mrs. Reding, wife of John R. Reding, another of the spurious members from New Hampshire.

I went into the library, to look at the Madison Papers. They had only one copy of the work there, and that was in use by Mr. Rhett. They borrowed it for me for five minutes, and I found in two of the volumes the leaves doubled down, ready to my hand; but Mr. Rhett could not spare the book; and on my way home I stopped at Taylor's and bought the book.

Isaac Munroe, with John G. Proud, and his son, brought me a gold-headed cane, with a flattering letter, from the Banner Clay Committee, at Baltimore. I was extremely grateful for the letter and the compliment, but declined accepting the cane.

February 1st. I attended, this morning, the meeting of the

select committee on the resolves of the Massachusetts Legislature. The attendance was punctual, and by a quarter-past ten all the members of the committee were assembled in the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures, except Thomas W. Gilmer, who came in a quarter of an hour later.

I moved an adjournment to this day week, on two grounds: First, that since the last meeting of the committee I had received a new set of resolves from the present Legislature of Massachusetts, of the same import with those of the last Legislature, with one exception, which was merely the correction of an error, by the introduction of the word "including," instead of the word "excluding," with reference to Indians. Secondly, that I had not yet finished the draft of a report which I proposed to submit to the consideration of the committee. I had twice attempted, unsuccessfully, to obtain the reference to this committee, by the House, of the new resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts. Next Monday will be the regular day for presenting them to the House, and I shall then again move their reference to this committee.

Gilmer was very urgent to make an immediate report, and had one ready, but would not read it until mine should be read. I stated what the general purport of my argument would be, and Gilmer read a part of his report, to justify the refusal to receive petitions. After much discussion, Ingersoll moved to adjourn to this day fortnight; which was carried—six to three—Burke and Burt voting with Gilmer, and Ingersoll and Garrett Davis with our minority of four. Gilmer moved again to report the journal of the committee now, to the House. Rejected—six to three—the same vote as on the adjournment.

In the House, McCauslen, a half-way-house man between slavery and freedom, occupied not quite the whole hour in a speech on both sides of the question, but inclining against retaining the gag-rule, from motives of expediency. When he finished, Giddings rose, and, after some chicanery, obtained the floor, but had barely time to commence his speech when the morning hour expired.

2d. This was the day to which the select committee on copyrights, internal and international, was adjourned, but I received

yesterday notice from Robert C. Winthrop, the Chairman, that the meeting was adjourned to this day week, the 9th. I should have mentioned yesterday that the House went into committee of the whole on the State of the Union. It was at the motion of Hughes, of Missouri, to take up the resolution reported by the Committee of Foreign Affairs, of the inexpediency of meddling with the Oregon Territory questions at this time; but the committee, by a vote of sixty to fifty-nine, refused to take it up. Then, at the motion of McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, they took up the Indian Appropriation bill, and made some progress in the consideration of that.

This morning, the report of the committee on the rules was taken up, and Mr. Giddings finished his hour speech, which he had barely commenced yesterday. When he finished, William H. Hammett, of Mississippi, took the floor; but the hour was expiring, and a message came in from the Senate announcing the death of Alexander Porter, a Senator from the State of Louisiana; whereupon John Slidell, the member from New Orleans, read a cold-blooded obituary eulogy upon the deceased. Joseph Vance, of Ohio, pronounced another short, frothy panegyric upon him, and the usual resolutions were adopted to wear crape and to adjourn.

Porter was one of the upstarts of fortune who compose the Government of this Union. He was an Irishman, son of a patriot executed in one of the Irish rebellions, and emigrated, with his mother, first to Tennessee and then to Louisiana. He was a man of fine talents, amiable disposition, pleasant temper, benevolent heart, elegant taste, and classical acquirements. His death is a grievous loss to the country, for he will be succeeded by a stinkard.

After the adjournment, I went first into the Law Library and looked into Lofft's Reports for the case of the negro James Somerset, and then into the Supreme Court, where Walter Jones was opening the case of Stephen Girard's bequest to the city of Philadelphia. Jones is for the heirs of Girard, and was as drowsy as the sound of falling waters. Mr. Webster gave me one of the printed statements of the case.

3d. At the House, David Levy, the Jew delegate from Florida,

with much apparent agitation, and awful length of face, moved a suspension of the rules to enable him to offer a resolution requesting the President to give notice to the British Government that the United States wish to terminate the tenth article of the Ashburton Treaty.[1]

The Speaker, more cunning than David himself, told him that his motion was not in order. David looked round the House for countenance, but found none. I doubt if he will ever renew his motion. If he does, and the slavers do not instantly lay it on the table, it will start a question of the severest trial that I have ever undergone. I ought perhaps to pray that it may not come. If it does, I pray for prudence and fortitude—no intemperance—no flinching. David was silenced for this time.

The report on the rules should have come up, but Chapman, of Alabama, moved its postponement, first to Monday, and next till Tuesday, on a pretence that Hammett, who had the floor, was unwell; though Hammett himself made no such pretence. I called for the yeas and nays; but the postponement was carried—one hundred and thirty-two to forty. They wait for the Maryland members.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union upon the Grampus bill—Gilmer in the chair. John P. Hale made a thorough-going radical speech against the navy. Holmes foamed at the mouth about the Grampus having sailed from Charleston when she was lost. An amendment was carried striking out the brothers and sisters from the relatives to be relieved, and the bill was reported and passed, notwithstanding Mr. Hale's demagogism about the poor people of New Hampshire. Hale's Democracy will nevertheless do good service at the present juncture.

4th. I attended public worship this morning, at the hall of the House of Representatives. Mr. Tustin preached from Exodus xx. 8: "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy." His subject was the same with that of Mr. Justin Edwards the Sunday before last; but neither of them appears to me to understand the true character of the institution, or the import of the pre-

[1] This is the article which has of late given rise to serious controversy between the two Governments, not yet settled.

cept. The answer of Jesus Christ Himself, to the charge against His disciples of violating the Sabbath, gave the true measure of its design. He gave an instance of a case in which David, under the craving of hunger, had broken through the positive injunction of the law which reserved the shew-bread in the sanctuary for the use of the priests, and then added that "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." It is a day of rest from the ordinary labors of the week, but not a day of useless idleness or of exemption from the duties of social life, of justice, benevolence, and humanity. To a minister of religion himself, instead of being a day of idleness or even of repose, it is emphatically a day of labor; and there is no portion of time more suitable for the performance of any service of kindness and beneficence to others than the Sabbath day. Neither Mr. Tustin nor Mr. Edwards understands this. They receive the commandment in its rigor to the letter, and condemn the mind of man to total inaction one day in seven; and they subject his body to the same law. This doctrine is so unreasonable that the common sense of mankind revolts against it. The attempt to make this periodical idleness an article of religion is not merely fruitless, it produces aversion to the religion itself of which this is given out as a precept. Mr. Edwards, for preaching the same doctrine in a church here on the evening of the same day on which he had delivered it in the hall, bred a riot, which insulted and silenced him. The hall this day was well filled by a respectable auditory.

5th. This was at the House the regular day for the call of the States for petitions. Vance, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, proposed to vary the order of business, and begin with a call upon the committees for reports; but that met with no favor. Levy, the Jew, blustered up again with his motion of Saturday, to suspend the rules only for one hour, to introduce his hopeful resolution. Levy said he wanted an hour, that the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs might have something to say on the subject. But C. J. Ingersoll stood mute, and the Jew took nothing by his motion.

I asked him to show me the documents upon which he based his proposal.

It was a correspondence between the U. S. Marshal for East Florida, and the Governor of New Providence, on a demand by the Marshal for the surrender of seven negroes who escaped from St. Augustine and were indicted for robbery and murder at Quay Biscayine, on their way to Nassau. The surrender was refused, because no evidence against the negroes was produced except the indictment. I doubt whether the slavers will allow a debate on this subject in the House, and am inclined to believe that the best policy would be to let them terminate the tenth article of the treaty.

The call for petitions began with a call of the House, moved by Beardsley, upon a motion by Weller to lay on the table an objection to the reception of a petition from Oneida County, presented by Beardsley, broken off by an adjournment at the last call for petitions. Beardsley now renewed the motion for a call of the House, which they refused, and by yeas and nays —ninety-seven to seventy—laid the objection to reception on the table. The call proceeded from New York northward.

I offered the Massachusetts resolutions of the present session.[1] Burt objected to their being received, and, after much chicanery by yeas and nays, they laid on the table the objection—seventy-four to ninety-one. I presented sundry other petitions, one of which, in the identical words of the last year's Massachusetts resolutions, was received, and referred to the committee; to another, objection made, and reception refused—seventy-three to seventy-five. I moved a call of the House. Refused, and adjourned.

6th. The name of the Portuguese Minister Resident who visited me last evening is the Chevalier J. C. de Figaniere e Morão, and he came to speak of a correspondence between him and our Department of State, in which he complains of the duties levied upon Portuguese wines by the Tariff of 1842, as violating the stipulation of our treaty with Portugal, that the duties levied upon articles the produce of Portugal shall not be higher than upon the *like articles* the growth and produce of any other country. He insists that *like* articles as respects wines have reference only to the color—red or white—and

[1] Offered on the 26th of January preceding. See page 495.

that we can levy no higher duties upon Port than upon all other red wines, and no higher duties upon Madeira than upon all other white wines. A message of the President has referred this subject to Congress, and Mr. Morão came to tell me that the Committee of Foreign Affairs would this day present a report favorable to his views, and to ask my support to it. Mr. Morão was quite dissatisfied with his failure to convince Mr. Webster that a small vin de grave was not a like article with London particular Madeira, and much pleased that his reasoning was acknowledged by Mr. Upshur to be extremely strong.

At the House, this day, after two or three intrusive preliminaries, the report on the rules came up, and William H. Hammett, an Irish transfer from the State of Mississippi, wore out his hour of insolence and vulgarity for the restoration of the twenty-fifth rule, at the close of which, Luther Severance, of Maine, took the floor. But the hour was gone, and Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus Elmer, Chairman of the Committee of Elections, called up the report of that committee on the contested general-ticket elections—a privileged subject, which is to override everything else. The first achievement was to take it out of the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, to which it had been referred, and where the previous question could not be started. Dromgoole made the motion. Elmer acquiesced. Campbell feebly objected. Schenck, Garrett Davis, and Barnard protested. Campbell questioned the right of the members whose seats were contested to vote, on the score of interest. Beardsley, sitting as Speaker, decided it against him; and the House, by yeas and nays—one hundred and seventeen to sixty-two—sustained the Speaker. By a similar though not quite so strong a vote, the committee of the whole on the state of the Union was discharged—one hundred and seven to seventy-three; and Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus bestowed all his tediousness upon the House till four o'clock, when they adjourned. Kennedy, the Indiana blacksmith, said he wanted no debate. He is the bravest cut-throat of the gang.

7th. At the House, before the Chaplain appeared, Mr. Hudson came to my seat, and told me that he had heard the Democracy had in a mere caucus determined to take immediately the

question on the restoration of the gag-rule; that Dromgoole would withdraw his motion to recommit the report, and will move the previous question. The New York Democrats have been whipped in by the threat that the South will desert Van Buren if his friends join to rescind the rule, with a promise of Calhoun and his party to support Van Buren if the rule is retained and the tariff broken down. I have been prepared for this reverse, and must bear it with patience. But this day the report on the rules, and everything else, was overridden by the zeal of Mr. Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus Elmer, who, upon his high horse of privilege, was so intent upon being delivered of the remnant of his hour speech in support of his senseless majority report on the general-ticket elections, that he would not even suffer Charles J. Ingersoll to make his report from the Committee of Foreign Affairs on the Portuguese Treaty question about the meaning of the words "like articles." Elmer finished his hour speech, and was followed by Belser, of Alabama, a man of his own kidney, but whom a single spark, not yet extinct in his mind, of common sense, has kept right in this case, and he made an hour speech in support of the law. Paul Dillingham, Junr., a Vermont Democrat, sophisticated not quite an hour for the spurious elections, and Joseph Woodward, of South Carolina, twisted words and ideas into a snarl, on the same side. Milton Brown, of Tennessee, and Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, recurred to some of the principles of common honesty, till past four o'clock —when, after two previous refusals of the House to adjourn, Samuel Beardsley took the floor, and moved to adjourn, and it was carried.

I had an evening visit from Mr. Murray, of New York, with Mr. Charles Butler, a brother of Benjamin F. Butler's, the sometime Attorney-General of Mr. Van Buren. He told me that he was a Loco-foco, but warmly and anxiously with me on the right of petition. I received, while those gentlemen were here, a note from a Mr. Wakeman, requesting an interview with me, for which I appointed to-morrow morning at nine o'clock.

8th. Mr. Wakeman came, and had a full hour's conversation with me. He is a young man from Herkimer County, in the State of New York, an entire stranger to me, but whose object

was to ask questions of my opinions upon various subjects, chiefly relating to slavery, and also of advice to him for his own conduct. He said he was in very narrow circumstances, but was desirous of devoting himself to the profession of the law. His most immediate and urgent enquiry was, whether his best course would be to commence off-hand the study of the law, or to begin by acquiring the preliminary foundation of a college education.

I told him that if his purpose was to become eminent in the profession, he must lay his foundation broad and deep; he must commence by making himself master of college learning; but if he aspired to nothing further than qualification for the practice of a village lawyer, he might pick up his classical and his law learning together, and, with an industrious use of the long and tedious leisure which he would have in waiting for employment of all his time in practice, he could easily gather general and particular knowledge at the same time.

Mr. Espy, the storm-breeder, came with a complaint that the Committee of Ways and Means were about to retrench the appropriation for some small interloping office under the War Department with which he has been allowed for the last two years to pursue his study of storms. He said he had cotemporaneous observations made at a hundred and fifty military stations, the results of which he had reported to the Secretary of War, and his report had been communicated with that of the Secretary, accompanying the President's annual message to Congress; and he showed me ninety engraved maps, on which was marked the direction of all the storms at the several stations of observation, all confirmative of his theory.

At the House, the day was again consumed on the general-ticket election question, Beardsley, Henry Grider, of Kentucky, Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, G. W. Jones, of Tennessee, Howell Cobb, of Georgia, and Willoughby Newton, of Virginia, successively occupying the floor, till five o'clock and the adjournment.

9th. At half-past ten I attended the meeting of the committee on copyrights. Bowlin, of Missouri, Herrick, of Maine, and Potter, of Ohio, absent. Winthrop read C. J. Ingersoll's bill and sections of amendment to it, printed since the last

meeting of the committee, and consisting of an entire but most incongruous system touching upon the subject first referred to the committee—a memorial for an international copyright law.

After the reading of the bill and amendments, I suggested a question of the expediency of any change in the existing copyright laws. But there was not time to discuss the question, and the committee adjourned, to meet again when notified by the Chairman.

The House again consumed the day on the general-ticket election question. Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, and A. H. Stephens, of Georgia, Aaron Venable Brown, of Tennessee, and Samuel Chilton, of Virginia, alternated for an (hour) against the resolution reported by the majority of the Committee of Elections confirming the spurious members in their seats. Washington Hunt, of New York, closed this day's debate against them. At five o'clock, Moses Norris, Junr., of New Hampshire, took the floor, and the House adjourned. I had borrowed an hour from this nauseous debate to visit the United States Supreme Court and hear the plain sense and temperate argument of John Sergeant in the case of S. Girard's will.

10th. At the House, the everlasting general-ticket elections again consumed the day. Moses Norris, Junr., of New Hampshire, wasted the first hour; Abraham H. Chappell, of Georgia, and George H. Catlin, of Connecticut, the second. They were followed by George W. Summers, of Virginia, in a speech of sound sense and honest principles; after which came the heavy stupidity and coarse vulgarity of John Jameson, of Missouri, closing for the day with John H. Lumpkin, of Georgia, till the adjournment, after five. I made an escape from the House while Norris was speaking, and went into the Supreme Court, where I heard for an hour and a half the argument of Daniel Webster against the infidel provision in Stephen Girard's will.

11th. I attended public worship this morning at the Representative Hall, where the Chaplain of the House performed divine service with so much brevity that it seemed as if he thought his great official duty was to try in how little time he could turn it off. The whole job took him not more than three-quarters of an hour. The text of his discourse was from

Philippians i. 28: "And in nothing terrified by your adversaries: which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God"—the latter part of the verse. He spoke without notes; said nothing which could fix itself upon the memory—nothing but dull, commonplace devotion, without even that fervor which betokens the sincere conviction of Mr. Tustin of the truth of his own doctrines. He defined not very accurately the meaning of the word "token," but did not clearly specify those whose perdition was evidently betokened, nor what the token was.

This man's election as Chaplain to the House is a problem. So is the fact that last week a subscription paper was circulated round the hall for printing his sermon upon Faith, delivered the Sunday before last. The auditory this day was very small.

After dinner, attended at St. John's Church, where Mr. Hawley read the evening service for Sexagesima Sunday, and the Bishop of Vermont, Hopkins, preached from Hebrews ii. 15: "And deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage." What a contrast to the sermon of the Chaplain! The Bishop's discourse was on the fear of death inherent in the nature of man, on his subjection to bondage throughout life by that fear, and on redemption from that bondage by sincere faith in Christ the Redeemer—a close, compact argument, all flowing from and returning to the text—death, bondage, redemption. What intense feeling, what absorbing interest, what searching pathos, are interwoven with the solemn discussion of these topics! The Bishop seized upon them and familiarly handled them all—in composition of refined and elegant simplicity, in a tone of delivery kind, affectionate, and deeply impressive. It is long since I have heard an appeal so eloquent to my own conscience; and when the enquiry came to every hearer, whether *he* could safely and confidently rely upon his own right to the blessing of that redemption from that bondage of the fear of death, my conscience smote me, and the involuntary tear stole down my cheek. I had never before, to my remembrance, heard the name of Bishop Hopkins. I shall remember him as long as any trace of memory remains upon my brain.

12th. In the House, this day, the report of the Committee of Elections on the right of the spurious general-ticket members was resumed. Richard French, of Kentucky, gave an hour of his most elaborate nonsense to prove that the districting section of the Apportionment Act of 1842 was not law, because Blackstone defines law to be a rule of conduct and a rule of action.

Then followed Samuel F. Vinton, of Ohio, with a sound, logical, and conclusive argument in support of the districting section, in which he pointed out some of the absurdities of Douglas's report, which Douglas, by frequent interruptions, vainly attempted to defend.

Edward J. Black, of Georgia, then assumed that the objection to the general-ticket elections was a proposition to expel twenty-one members from their seats and to disfranchise the four States which sent them. And then he raved his hour about the horrible injustice and atrocious tyranny of expelling twenty-one members and disfranchising four sovereign States, when the members have committed no offence and are not even charged with any crime. This shuffling trick of misstating the question, and setting up a man of straw to make a pompous demonstration of knocking him down, is a measure of the capacity of Edward Black and of the majority of this House; for his vapid absurdities passed for argument as cogent as if it had pointed directly at the question before the House.

David W. Dickinson, of Tennessee, came next, and bore down more upon his colleagues A. V. Brown and Cave Johnson for voting themselves for the Apportionment Act with this section which they now pronounced unconstitutional, than upon the merits of the question. John A. McClernand, of Illinois, talked off his time, and George Rathbun closed for the day with a fiery blast against the law, till the adjournment, about six o'clock.

13th. At the House, another long and tedious day was consumed in discussing the questions upon the general-ticket elections. The debate of the morning was commenced by Hugh A. Haralson, of Georgia, and continued by James B. Bowlin, of Missouri. These are both among the most moderate of the furious faction now ruling in the Congress. I heard Haralson

through, but there was nothing to remember in his speech; and when Bowlin began with his I began then to grow drowsy, and, to escape an hour or two of soporifics, left the hall and went into that where the Supreme Court were in session, to see what had become of Stephen Girard's will, and the scramble of lawyers and collaterals for the fragments of his colossal and misshapen endowment of an infidel charity-school for orphan boys.

Webster had just before closed his argument, for which, it is said, if he succeeds, he is to have fifty thousand dollars for his share of the plunder. The court-room was nearly deserted, and Governor Morehead, the Senator from Kentucky, with his colleague Crittenden sitting at his side, was discoursing to the Court and the walls upon some Kentucky land case. I remained but a short time there, and went thence into the Senate-chamber, where Jabez W. Huntington, Senator from Connecticut, was answering with pith and moment Levi Woodbury's New Hampshire endorsement of George McDuffie's South Carolina Anti-Tariff bill. When he finished, McDuffie, who has already dragged, like a wounded snake, his slow length along through two enormous speeches on his forty-bale bill, still claimed the last word, and, to humor him, the question on his bill was postponed. Returning to the House, I heard I had lost a handsome hour-argument of Garrett Davis, of Kentucky; and William H. Stiles, of Georgia, was working on coarse cloth a tawdry embroidery of flowers. Dromgoole, Barringer, and D. D. Barnard followed, till eight o'clock in the evening, when the House adjourned.

14th. At the House, Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, the author of the majority report from the Committee of Elections, had taken the floor last evening, and now raved out his hour in abusive invectives upon the members who had pointed out its slanders, and upon the Whig party. His face was convulsed, his gesticulation frantic, and he lashed himself into such a heat that if his body had been made of combustible matter it would have burnt out. In the midst of his roaring, to save himself from choking, he stripped off and cast away his cravat, unbuttoned his waistcoat, and had the air and aspect of a half-naked

pugilist. And this man comes from a judicial bench, and passes for an eloquent orator!

When the Speaker's hammer pounded him off, there was a scramble of two or three dozen candidates for the floor; but the Speaker knew where to fix his eye, and gave it to the ruffian John B. Weller, who, after the mockery of a eulogy upon the unexampled ability displayed in this discussion, said it had been sufficiently debated, and moved the previous question. It was carried, and the question was first put on a trap resolution for the Whigs, that all the members elected from the Districted States were entitled to their seats. The vote was one hundred and twenty-eight to two, the Whigs refusing to vote. Then followed the name of every member from the four general-ticket States, all declared duly elected, and the yeas and nays were taken upon each member separately in the delegations of New Hampshire and Georgia, till about eight o'clock, when the adjournment was carried.

15th. At ten this morning I had been employing the previous hours of the day in finishing my report on the resolves of the Massachusetts Legislature. It has been excessively hurried, and is consequently feeble and indigested. I attended the meeting of the committee in the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures. All the members were present and punctual, except Mr. Davis, who had forgotten that this was the day to which the committee had adjourned. I read my report, which occupied two hours.

Immediately after I finished, Burt moved to take the question upon Gilmer's motion offered at the first meeting of the committee, "That the amendment of the Constitution, proposed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, ought *not* to be recommended."

I objected to taking this final question until the discussion on the resolves and petitions referred to the committee should be completed, and especially till Mr. Gilmer's report should be read. He then moved that the Chairman should be directed to ask leave of the House to sit during the sessions of the House —to which I objected; and Mr. Sample moved to adjourn till to-morrow morning at ten o'clock—which was carried, Gilmer,

Burke, and Burt voting against it. The House had been nearly half an hour in session when I reached my seat. Amos Abbott had appeared and been sworn as member from the Third Congressional District of Massachusetts. The yeas and nays were being called on the right of all the general-ticket members from the State of Mississippi; for they now took them all in a lump. Sample asked that the members from the committee on the Massachusetts resolves, who had been on service in committee when the call of yeas and nays commenced, might be allowed to vote; but objection was made, and they were not permitted. I lost my vote, therefore, on that question; but I gave it on the repetition of the same question regarding the members from the State of Missouri; carried—one hundred and six to sixty-three, by which the outrage on the Constitution and law was consummated. Dromgoole then attempted to introduce a resolution that the general-ticket elections in the four refractory States were valid, notwithstanding the second section of the Apportionment Act. He failed for want of a two-thirds vote. So did A. V. Brown in an attempt to force the repeal of the districting section.

16th. The committee met at ten. All the members present. Thomas W. Gilmer read his report on the resolves—such a report as might be expected from Don Pedro Blanca—the quintessence of slavery. It took him about an hour and a half to read; and the instant he finished, Burt called for the consideration, not of the resolutions at the close of Gilmer's report, but of the resolution he had offered at the first meeting of the committee—that the amendment proposed by the Legislature of Massachusetts ought not to be recommended. I enquired if any other member of the committee wished to submit his views.

Ingersoll and Burke said they proposed so to do.

I objected that it was premature to take the final question before all the members had communicated their opinions. But Gilmer was this day nominated, and by the Senate immediately confirmed, as Secretary of the Navy; and Sample urged the necessity of an immediate vote on the main question, that Gilmer might make his report to the House before resigning his seat

as a member. I moved to insert on the minutes that the question was taken to accommodate a member about to cease to be of the committee. But all the members of the committee, except Giddings, voted against this.

Gilmer sneeringly thanked me for my kindness. I answered him that he might economize his thanks—that I had too much experience of the character of his kindness to have any such to offer him in return. I moved the resolution at the close of my report, to postpone the further consideration of the resolves to the first Monday of next December. This was rejected on the final vote. Gilmer, Burke, Burt, Davis, Ingersoll, and Sample voted for Gilmer's resolution; Giddings and I voted against it; and Morse asked to be, and was, excused from voting.

It was then agreed that Gilmer should make his report, also signed by Burt, to the House; that when Ingersoll and Burke should be ready, another meeting of the committee should be called, when their reports should be read, and with mine, and the journal, be reported to the House; and the committee adjourned.

In the House, John P. Kennedy, just elected from Baltimore, took his seat. Gilmer presented his report, and resigned his seat. The House resumed the morning hour occupation of debating the report of the Committee on the Rules. Luther Severance, of Maine, made an excellent hour speech against retaining the gag, and John Campbell, of South Carolina, took the floor for to-morrow.

17th. The report on the rules consumed the morning hour. John Campbell, of South Carolina, consumed it by a speech worthy of Cæsar Borgia. When the drop came upon it, the Speaker, among a half-score of competitors, gave the floor to Armistead Burt.

18th. I attended the morning public worship in the hall of the House of Representatives, where the prayers and the singing were performed by the Chaplain of the Senate, Mr. Tustin, and the sermon was delivered by Mr. Musgrave, a Presbyterian clergyman from Baltimore. His text was 1 Corinthians xvi. 22: "If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema Maranatha." This, with the speaker's exposition,

might be termed a cool hundred of eternal damnation. He first noticed the peculiar position of this malediction, at the close of the epistle, between the salutation of the apostle with his own hand, and the benediction upon those to whom the letter was addressed. He said it was Paul's custom to employ an amanuensis to write his epistles, and then to address them in a salutation and benediction with his own hand, and that it was in this manner that this curse had been so emphatically denounced. He then explained the meaning of the words.

Anathema was a Greek word, meaning to separate, set apart, or devote. Maranatha was Hebrew, meaning, The Lord cometh, or, May the Lord come. He said there were in the Hebrew ritual three degrees of devoting to a curse, of which Maranatha was the third, and signified total destruction. Then he noticed the comprehensive universality of the curse—if "*any man*," and so forth; and then he defined the *Love* of Christ—to love Him was to obey His commandments—"by their fruits ye shall know them;" and every man professing to be a Christian must understand that this condemnation, if he incur it, is eternal, and that it will be perfectly just.

Incredulus odi! It cannot be so. But perhaps it may not be amiss to be told so. A commination which has even a color of authority from Scripture deserves to be seriously listened to and deliberately considered. Its tendency is to purity and righteousness. Take the warning, and be safe. Mr. Musgrave came to my seat with Mr. Tustin, who introduced him to me.

19th. At the House, this was the day for the call of the States for petitions; and I had scarcely taken my seat, when the Speaker called out, "Petitions are in order from the State of Massachusetts." I had forgotten that the call would thus commence, and presented ten or a dozen which I had not yet entered on my list.

Edmund Burke presented a petition from twenty-two members of the Legislature of Rhode Island, praying for an investigation of the conduct of President Tyler in the Dorrite insurrection, and into the right of the present members to hold their seats. He moved its reference to a select committee of five, and, at the suggestion of Weller, that it be printed—both

which, after much agitation, and several takings of yeas and nays, were carried.

The abolition and anti-slavery petitions were generally treated very contemptuously by the House. The call went entirely through the States and Territories.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the present condition of the Smithsonian Fund was sent in, of which Mr. Young apprised me by a private note. I moved its reference to a select committee of nine, and that, with the documents, it should be printed. Burke moved its reference to the joint committee on the library. To this I objected, and assigned my reasons; whereupon Burke, unexpectedly to me, withdrew his motion, and mine was carried.

20th. The House of Representatives yesterday adjourned over till to-morrow, on the motion of Isaac E. Holmes, member from South Carolina, for the avowed purpose of enabling the members to visit the Princeton, a war steamer and sailing-vessel combined, with the steam machinery of Ericssen's propellers all within the hull of the vessel and below the water-line, and carrying twenty-four forty-two pound carronades, and on her main deck two enormous wrought-iron cannon, with barrels of fourteen inches diameter, chargeable with forty pounds of powder, and discharging a ball of two hundred and twenty-five pounds' weight. This vessel, a gimcrack of sundry other inventions of Captain Stockton himself, was built under his directions, and is commanded by him. She was ordered round here to be exhibited to the President and heads of the Executive Departments, and to the members of both Houses of Congress, to fire their souls with patriotic ardor for a naval war. On Saturday last, by invitation from Captain Stockton, the vessel was visited by the President, the heads of Departments, and Senators, and for this day, at eleven o'clock, Captain Stockton had issued a card of invitation to every member of the House of Representatives, besides a general one in the National Intelligencer of this morning. Holmes's motion to adjourn over the day was carried by evading the call for the yeas and nays, and even the call for tellers. I went with Isaac Hull Adams to Greenleaf's Point, and thence embarked in the Princeton's barge

on board that vessel. I was punctual to the hour of eleven, and the first of the company that came. Captain Stockton received me with great politeness, and showed me all the machinery of the ship. Afterwards, upwards of a hundred members of the House came on board. The two great guns are called the Peacemaker and the Orator. A salute was fired from the carronades, and the Peacemaker was three times discharged. The vessel was steamed down twelve miles, to Fort Washington, and back to her moorings, opposite Greenleaf's Point. A plentiful cold collation was served. We reached home at four P.M.

21st. At the House, John P. Kennedy, of Baltimore, introduced John Wethered, his colleague, as member from the Third Congressional District of Maryland.

By the general consent of the House, I moved that the use of the hall should be granted for next Tuesday evening to the American Bible Society, which was adopted without opposition. There were resolutions of the Legislature of the State of Indiana for the occupation of the Oregon Territory, referred last Monday to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. The committee had already reported against the measure, and their report was before the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Charles J. Ingersoll, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs, had suffered the reference to be made, then moved a reconsideration of the vote, but said he would not press it then. This day he was not in his seat; and so his motion for reconsideration was postponed till to-morrow.

Next came the report of the committee on the rules. Armistead Burt, of South Carolina, made a furious hour speech against the abolitionists, and grossly insulted Beardsley and defied him. When he closed, Dellet, of Alabama, took the floor for to-morrow.

22d. As I was returning from the House yesterday, a man by the name of Pennington stopped me in the Avenue, and entreated me to attend, at half-past seven in the evening, a lecture which he would deliver on a system of aerostation, or of aerial steam navigation, of his invention. In rather weak compliance with his urgency, I took his ticket and went and heard his lecture, by which it was apparent that the man was a mono-

maniac. He had a very complicated machine, with a printed pamphlet and engraving of it, second edition, which, in a very confused manner, he attempted to explain. There were only five or six persons present, and his lecture of half an hour consisted chiefly of complaints that he had been charged with insanity, and of arguments to show that he was of perfectly sound mind. I had lost my time; but I could reflect, and compassionate the frailty of human nature.

This day, at the House, Mr. Kennedy introduced John M. S. Causin, member from the First, and Francis Brengle, from the Second Congressional District of Maryland, who were sworn and took their seats. J. A. Preston, the member from the Third District, also afterwards came in. James Dellet, of Alabama, a Whig slave-monger, made an hour speech for the gag, and against Giddings and me, full of frothy eloquence and invective.

The slavers have become bolder with the arrival of the Maryland delegation, and, having now ascertained that they will carry the restoration of the gag, the three successive speeches of Campbell, Burt, and Dellet have exhibited a regular ascending gradation of overbearing insolence and bullying. To leave it all without reply would be tame submission. To reply in the same tone might breed a brawl; for which I should be held responsible by the public. To say just what will be proper, and nothing more, requires counsel from above. May it not be withheld!

When Dellet's hour closed, Charles Rogers, of New York, obtained the floor for to-morrow. There is a bill to repeal the Distribution law introduced by Payne, of Alabama. Dromgoole moved its reference to the Committee of Ways and Means; which was carried. Henley, of Indiana, moved a suspension of the rules to offer a joint resolution for closing the session in May. The vote was announced one hundred and eight to fifty-four—exactly two-thirds; but the Speaker voted in the negative, and declared the rules were not suspended.

The House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Campbell in the chair, and took up the Pension Appropriation bill, which was debated, and finally reported to the House; previous question, and adjourned. I had gone

into the Senate-chamber, heard an excellent speech of Choate on the Oregon question, and had some conversation with Huntington and Crittenden.

23d. I answered this morning a letter from my son, and see by the Boston Courier of Wednesday morning that the resolves reported by him against the annexation of Texas passed on Tuesday, in the Senate of Massachusetts, unanimously, with one exception upon the first resolution. Thirty-four Senators present; six absent, among whom was Levi Lincoln. My son's speech is in the Courier, and shows that he is aware of his position, which he has deliberately assumed, explicitly declared, and will firmly maintain. My heart aches at the prospect of the dangers and trials that await and already beset him. May the God of Justice be his guide and guard, and the God of Mercy protect him!

At the House there was a snarl of an hour upon a mistake of the Clerk in recording the name of Mr. Slidell yesterday in the negative on Henley's motion to suspend the rules for a resolution to adjourn in May. Slidell had voted in the affirmative. Slidell was allowed to rectify the record of his vote. But this error was the cause of another. The suspension of the rules was actually carried, and the Speaker, on the strength of former precedents, decided that Henley might offer his resolution now. Dromgoole appealed from his decision, and the gang were about to bully him out of it, when Henley withdrew his motion, and said he would offer it again next Tuesday.

The report on the rules was then taken up, and Charles Rogers, of New York, made an hour speech against the gag. Dromgoole took the floor, and withdrew his motion to recommit the report, and offered an amendment to the whole report, including the gag-rule—which he moved to have printed. But the hour was out, and the House went into committee of the whole on private bills, Joseph R. Ingersoll in the chair. I went into the Senate-chamber, and heard William L. Dayton, on the Oregon question.

24th. This morning I returned the visit of Mr. Pakenham, the new Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Great Britain, who brought me a letter of introduction

from Edward Everett. He has a secretary with him, a young man by the name of Bidwell.

At the House, the day was consumed in debate on the report on the rules. Dromgoole, who had the floor, withdrew his motion to recommit the report, whereby E. J. Black's instructions fell, of course; and now Dromgoole moves an amendment to strike out the whole report after the thirteenth rule, and insert another set of his own selection, with revival of all the rules of despotic majorities; and he moved to postpone the further consideration of the subject till next Tuesday, and that his proposed amendment should be printed.

Dromgoole's object now is to conjure up debate upon many other points, and mingle them with the gag question, and entangle them all together, so as to evade the direct question upon the gag alone, of the issue of which, so taken, he is afraid. Numbers of the Northern Democracy, afraid of their constituents if they vote for the gag, and afraid of losing the vote of the South for Van Buren if they vote against it, suffer Dromgoole to lead them by the nose to relieve them from voting directly upon that question at all.

Cave Johnson moved, as an amendment to his amendment, to strike it all out, and substitute the rule that all abolition petitions shall be received and laid on the table without any other action of the House upon them. Then came a debate upon that, and Steenrod moved to lay the whole subject on the table; rejected, by yeas and nays—eighty-two to one hundred and twelve.

I enquired what had become of Wise's minority report, and called upon Chapman, who had signed it; whereupon Dromgoole broke out again with the pretension that there is no right to make minority reports.

Hamlin moved the previous question, but withdrew it at Chapman's request, he promising to renew it. He then came out with a dogged attack of a quarter of an hour upon me, and closed with the previous question. I asked five minutes to reply, but was refused. Adjourned before four.

25th. The further consideration of the report on the rules was postponed yesterday till next Tuesday, and Dromgoole's amendment was ordered to be printed.

26th. I dispatched a letter to Levi Fahnestock and sundry others, a committee of the Banner Clay Club at Baltimore, in answer to one from them, with an elegant walking-stick from Ashland, which I declined accepting, and promised an answer to their letter, which, from mere embarrassment what to say, I have procrastinated till J. P. Kennedy has twice hinted to me their impatience to receive it.

At the House, it was the regular bi-weekly day for the call for resolutions, before which sundry Executive communications were laid before the House—one of them a message from the President, saying that he had approved the bill authorizing the transfer of naval appropriations from one head of expenditure to another, but that it was of no avail; he recommends further legislation upon the subject, and also for the construction of several ships of war like the Princeton, but of a larger class. More naval appropriations. Referred to the Committee of Naval Affairs, of which Parmenter is Chairman since Wise's resignation. I spoke to him about this message, but he told me that the committee would not propose any increase of the naval appropriations.

Bidlack moved a suspension of the rules to take the question upon a resolution of enquiry moved by him heretofore about coal and iron. I said I was perfectly willing to vote now, and in favor of his resolution, if the House would extend the favor to other resolutions in the same condition. Bidlack withdrew his motion. Among the resolutions offered was one by Burke, of enquiry of the Postmaster-General about Isaac Hill's contracts to furnish blanks, paper, and twine to that Department; adopted.

I offered a call upon the Secretary of State, whether any gross errors have been discovered in the official returns of the census of 1840, printed under the direction of the State Department. I expected objection to this call, but there was none. It was adopted, as were many others; among them, two of three anti-abolition abstractions, moved first by Holmes, and then by Campbell, of South Carolina, which occasioned much confusion, but were carried by almost unanimous votes. Adjourned about five o'clock.

27th. After some of the usual casual preliminaries, the report on the rules, with Dromgoole's amendment, and Cave Johnson's amendment to that, were resumed. Johnson made an hour speech in support of his amendment, which was to substitute, instead of the gag-rule, another, in these words: "That the rules of the last session of Congress be, and are hereby, adopted for the government of the Twenty-Eighth Congress, except the twenty-fifth rule, which shall read as follows: That all memorials, petitions, or other papers relating to slavery or the slave-trade between the States and Territories, or in any way connected with it, shall be received by the House and laid upon the table without debate."

His argument was that the gag-rule, refusing to receive petitions, could not be sustained; that it was lost by Southern Whig votes; and he read over the names of the Southern members who voted for rescinding the rule.

Then commenced the chicanery of moving for the previous question and reconsideration, and laying on the table, and to divide the question, and every species of subterfuge. Cave's amendment was finally rejected by yeas and nays—thirty-five to one hundred and forty-three.

The question next came upon Dromgoole's amendment to strike out the whole report of the committee after the twelfth rule, and insert another whole body of rules proposed by him.

Schenck moved to divide the question, so as first to take it on the whole amendment of Dromgoole, except the gag-rule, and one other, and then separately on each of them.

In this way a direct question was taken on the gag-rule, which was rejected by a vote of eighty-six to one hundred and six—a majority of twenty against the rule. But it was in vain. Barringer, of North Carolina, moved a reconsideration of the vote adopting Dromgoole's amendment to the report, with two exceptions, and the House adjourned.

28th. Dies iræ. I had received an invitation from Captain Robert F. Stockton, to another party of pleasure, with the ladies of my family, on board the war steamer Princeton. We declined the invitation, as I could not intermit my attendance at the House, and my wife and daughters were expecting the

arrival of our friends Mr. and Mrs. F. B. Stockton, who came to spend a few days with us. Isaac Hull Adams[1] had a separate invitation, and went to the ill-fated party. I had engaged, also, to dine at six o'clock this evening with Mr. Grinnell and Mr. Winthrop, in company with Mr. Pakenham, the new British Minister.

At the House, the report on the rules was resumed. Barringer's motion for the reconsideration of the vote on Dromgoole's rules of forty and forty-one, was rejected by yeas and nays—fifty-five to one hundred and fifteen. The question then recurred on the adoption of the report as amended by the several votes on Dromgoole's substitute. R. D. Davis said, if this should be rejected the House would be without rules; whereupon Chapman moved to lay the whole subject on the table. The vote on this motion, as taken by yeas and nays, was eighty-five to ninety; but after the whole roll had been called, and all the answers given, the slavers plied their Northern Democratic allies with personal menace and entreaty till three of them changed their votes from no to aye, and the motion to lay the whole subject on the table was carried—eighty-eight to eighty-seven.

One of the three, Jacob S. Yost, of Pennsylvania, changed his vote after enquiring of the Speaker (whether), if the vote should now be to lay on the table, the subject might be resumed without a vote of two-thirds, and receiving his answer that the rules of the House were always under the control of the majority, by giving one day's notice. An equivocation.

Reding, of New Hampshire, moved a reconsideration of the vote to lay the whole subject on the table. Weller moved to lay the motion for reconsideration on the table; which was carried. A call of the House was moved and rejected. Adjourned at half-past three.

I went into the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures, and wrote there till six. Dined with Mr. Grinnell and Mr. Winthrop. Mr. Pakenham and his Secretary, Mr. Bidwell, were there.

While we were at dinner, John Barney burst into the cham-

[1] A nephew of Mr. Adams.

ber, rushed up to General Scott, and told him, with groans, that the President wished to see him; that the great gun on board the Princeton, the "Peacemaker," had burst, and killed the Secretary of State, Upshur, the Secretary of the Navy, T. W. Gilmer, Captain Beverley Kennon, Virgil Maxcy, a Colonel Gardiner, of New York, and a colored servant of the President, and desperately wounded several of the crew. General Scott soon left the table; Mr. Webster shortly after; also the Senator Bayard. I came home before ten in the evening.

29th. At the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, a message was received from the President announcing the lamentable catastrophe of yesterday, bewailing the loss of his two Secretaries, with others, and hoping that Congress will not be discouraged by this accident from going on to build more and larger war steamers than the Princeton.

George W. Hopkins moved the usual sympathizing resolutions adapted to the occasion, and the House adjourned over to Monday. Hopkins, myself, Charles J. Ingersoll, D. D. Barnard, and Cave Johnson, were appointed a committee on the part of the House, to join a like committee of the Senate, of arrangement for the attendance of both Houses, in a body, at the funeral of the two Secretaries. We went to the Senate-chamber, where that body had just assembled, and their Secretary, Asbury Dickins, was reading the journal of yesterday.

March 1st. Yesterday, immediately after the reading of the journal of the Senate was completed, John Tyler, Junr., the President's son, delivered the same message which had been received and acted upon by the House. Whereupon William C. Rives, a Senator from Virginia, rose, and, after a very brief and appropriate notice of this awful dispensation of Providence, moved corresponding resolutions to those which had been adopted by the House. They were passed by a unanimous vote, and the committee of arrangements on the part of the Senate for attendance at the funeral of the two Secretaries, appointed by the President pro tempore of the Senate, Willie P. Mangum, were William C. Rives, William S. Archer, William R. King, Richard H. Bayard, and Levi Woodbury.

The two committees went into the Vice-President's chamber.

All present, except Mr. Archer. After a discussion of perhaps an hour, it was agreed to leave to the discretion of the two Chairmen to concert the arrangements with those made under the direction of the President, and to give notice in the newspapers to the members of the two Houses of the order of the procession.

This morning I went to the Capitol, and at the Clerk's office procured copies of the yeas and nays on Tuesday upon Chapman's motion to lay the whole subject on the table—first, eighty-five to ninety, and then, by the change of three votes, eighty-eight to eighty-seven. The three votes were Duncan, of Cincinnati, John W. Davis, of Indiana, and Jacob S. Yost, of Pennsylvania, who changed on a promise from the Speaker that the subject might be resumed by a vote of a mere majority—a promise which the Speaker will take care to break.

2d. I had met yesterday at the Capitol Mr. Rives, the Chairman of the Senate's committee of arrangements for the funeral, who told me that the members of the two Houses were to assemble at their respective halls this morning at half-past ten, and thence to proceed in a body to the President's house, where the corpses were deposited, and where, in the East Room, the religious services were to be performed. I went, accordingly, to the House this morning. A large portion of the members of both Houses assembled, and hack carriages were provided for them. I stepped into one of them, with the Speaker, John W. Jones, and Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Barnard, my colleague members of the House committee of arrangements. But before we had got out of the Capitol yard the Speaker discovered that the hack was crazy and the horses restive, and he insisted on changing his carriage. We all alighted. My carriage was close at hand in the procession. It was beginning to rain, and he took a seat with me. I could not make the same offer to the other two gentlemen; but they were immediately supplied with a new carriage.

At the President's house the Speaker parted from me to resume his place at the head of the House—a special place having been assigned in the procession, immediately after the President and his Cabinet, to the ex-Presidents of the United

States, of whom I was the only one present. There were four corpses in plain coffins—those of the three public officers with the Union flag stretched over them, and Colonel Gardiner's covered with a black pall. The East Room was crowded with the President, his Cabinet, and sons, and women of his family, the two Houses of Congress, foreign Ministers, the Mayors of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, municipal officers and of the Departments, Army and Navy, and the relatives of the deceased. Mr. Hawley read a part of the Episcopal funeral service, Dr. Laurie made a prayer, and Mr. Butler delivered a short discourse; after which the long funeral blackened all the way from the East Room to the Congressional burial-ground, near the eastern branch of the Potomac. At the common depositary vault I heard the remainder of the Episcopal funeral service recited, and then came home alone. It was four in the afternoon; and I mused.

5th. At the House, immediately after the reading of the journal, I moved to take up from the table Reding's motion to reconsider the vote by which the whole subject of the report on the rules was laid on the table last Friday. The motion to reconsider was itself laid on the table, on the motion of Weller. Before Yost changed his vote from no to aye, which changed the decision and laid the whole subject on the table, he enquired whether the subject could be resumed without a vote of two-thirds. The Speaker promised him that it could by giving one day's notice. The rules of the House, he said, were thus always under the control of the majority of the House. I then noticed in this diary that the Speaker would take care to break this promise. I gave notice that I should move to dispense with the rule requiring a majority of two-thirds to take up the report. The Speaker would not suffer my notice to be entered on the journal. And this morning, when I moved to take up the motion for reconsideration which had been laid on the table last Friday, he said it could be done only by a vote of two-thirds. I claimed that a motion for reconsideration, being privileged, could not lose its privilege by being laid on the table. He decided that it did. I said it was to be presumed the Speaker of the House was a man of his word, and reminded

him of his promise to Yost. He said he had told Mr. Yost that the rules of the House might be changed by giving notice, *when it would be in order*, of one day. I said he used these underscored words now, but had not used them then. He said he had used them then; which was not true. I asked when such notice would be in order. He said, on the day for offering resolutions. But this is of no avail. The notice will be objected to, and lie over nominally for one day, but then cannot be taken up in its order, the time for which never will come.

The committees were called for reports. Elmer, from the Committee of Elections, obtained leave for them to continue the employment of a clerk till they get through the contested case of Jones and Botts.

A message was received from the President, with the correspondence called for by the resolution offered by Levi, the delegate from Florida, between the United States Marshal and the Government of New Providence upon their refusal to deliver up certain fugitive negroes charged with murder. Levi moved its reference to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, with instructions—which was carried, and he made a rabid hour speech. His motion and instructions were carried by the previous question; no debate allowed. But the motion to print the message was debatable, and Giddings made a stinging speech. Pettit opposed the printing, and I answered him. The printing was ordered.

6th. Miss Thompson is a young woman of South Carolina, much in want of money to enable her to go to her brother at Beaufort in that State. She came here yesterday to solicit charity of my wife, and repeated her visit this morning to me. I did not think her a very piteous claimant of alms, for she was apparently healthy, and somewhat ambitiously dressed; but she reminded me so much of her State that I gave her a five-dollar bill.

At the House, a report by Joseph J. McDowell, of Ohio, from the Committee of Accounts, remodelling the system of the folding-room and the discipline and wages of the pages, which yesterday, after some debate, had been laid on the table, was reconsidered, debated again, and again laid on the table.

Mr. Parmenter, from the Committee of Naval Affairs, reported a bill making an appropriation recommended by a late message from the President; but he told me the report was against any additional war steamers.

Dromgoole presented resolutions of the Legislature of Virginia, counter to the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts, on the slave-representation, and moved their reference to a select committee of nine.

Payne, of Alabama, then attempted to present resolutions from the Legislature of that State.

Winthrop objected to the reception of the Virginia resolutions unless those of the Massachusetts Legislature, which I had offered, should also be received.

Dromgoole said it was too late to object, and moved the previous question; which was carried, and the Virginia resolutions were referred.

I offered again the Massachusetts resolves; but Duncan, of Cincinnati, had the floor for a speech on a bill introduced by him for holding elections for members of Congress and Electors of President and Vice-President. He spoke one hour on this bill, and then L. Q. C. Elmer, Chairman of the Committee of Elections, moved, as an amendment to Duncan's bill, another as a substitute for it, upon which he said just enough to give Duncan another hour to finish his speech. It was a glaring and preconcerted evasion of the hour rule. Strong objection was made to his occupying the second hour, but Hopkins, who occupied the chair as Speaker, decided the question in his favor. His speech was a bitter invective upon the Whigs, of bribery and corruption in the election of 1840, particularly in Hamilton County, Ohio, where Pendleton carried the election for Congress against him. He would not vouch for it, but it was said that this election had cost Pendleton twenty thousand dollars. When he closed his second hour, Clingman, of North Carolina, obtained the floor, and moved to adjourn; which was carried.

John C. Calhoun was this day nominated and confirmed as Secretary of State.

8th. At the House, Henry Y. Cranston, of Rhode Island, took fifty minutes to finish the speech which he began yester-

day, on the motion of Mr. Causin to discharge the select committee on the memorial of the twenty-three members of the Rhode Island Legislature, from the further consideration of the subject. It seems to me that Cranston and Potter should have arrested this movement at the threshold, by protesting at once against all action of the House upon it. They were taken by surprise when the first movement was made by Burke, and have not met it with suitable firmness or sagacity.

When Cranston closed to-day, he was followed by George Rathbun, of New York, a member of the select committee, and a venomous Van Burenite, who spoke to the expiration of the hour, and has the floor for to-morrow.

Vance, Chairman of the Committee of Claims, moved that the committee should be called for such reports as would not give rise to debate; and sundry reports were accordingly made; among them, James J. McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a bill to modify and amend the Tariff Act of 30th August, 1842. McKay said he would to-morrow, or next Monday at the latest, present the report of the majority of the committee, with certain tabular statements which were not yet quite ready.

George P. Marsh, from the Committee of Naval Affairs, reported a joint resolution of thanks to the British authorities at Gibraltar, and the commander, officers, and crew of her Britannic Majesty's ship Malabar, for their generous zeal displayed in endeavoring to save from destruction the American steam frigate Missouri, and in preserving the lives of her officers and crew, as well as for the kindness and hospitality which characterized their treatment of the ship's company of that vessel after her unfortunate destruction by fire. This resolution was read three times, and passed without opposition. Hale, of New Hampshire, did say he would debate it, but, upon a single word from Parmenter, withdrew his objection.

I combined the slave-envenomed motive to the building of the ship, the burning thirst for more and more of these infernal machines, of Captain Tyler and his late Secretaries, Upshur and Gilmer, with the humiliating attitude of thanking those for whose destruction those engines were intended, for endeavoring

to save them, and actually saving their crews; and my heart sunk within me for shame.

9th. At the House, George Rathbun, of Auburn, Twenty-Fifth Congressional District of New York, finished his hour speech on the Rhode Island (memorial)—wormwood and gall, in answer to Cranston, but without touching upon the sharp points involved in the case. I intend, if I can get the floor, to make an hour speech on this question, taking for my text, "Nullum numen adest ni sit Prudentia."[1] May I be true to my theme, and may its issue be useful! On this and kindred subjects my heart is too full for my head, and my faculties are in decay. Cranston indiscreetly denied the right of a majority of the people to change their form of government at pleasure. Rathbun seized upon this denial, and raved about the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence. Cranston had spoken with great exasperation about Dorr and his partisans and the memorialists, with admissions concerning their characters, marked more with candor than with controversial address. Rathbun seized, with the ravin of a shark, every concession and turned it to his own purpose, making none in return.

When he finished, Elisha R. Potter took the floor, and, as the morning hour was about expiring, only read one section of a law of Virginia against popular movements to overthrow the existing Government, and moved to postpone the subject till next Tuesday; which was done.

McKay, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, presented his tariff report, with the tabular statements. Dixon H. Lewis moved to print twenty-five thousand extra copies of them; but the Speaker said that motion was not now in order. Joseph R. Ingersoll, a member of the committee, said he should present a minority report, and claimed that an equal number of that should be printed with the other. Question not taken.

11th. As this was the semi-monthly day of calling for resolutions, I prepared one for a call upon the President for information whether he has instituted or engaged in a negotiation for the annexation of Texas to the United States. Just as I was going out to the House, Mr. Pakenham called on me to pay me

[1] This is not the accepted reading in Juvenal; of which the writer was aware.

a morning visit. I could stay only a few minutes, in which I assured him of my deep anxiety for the preservation of peace and harmony between this country and Great Britain. He said he was assured of that from sentiments that I had expressed in the House. He said he had rented Mr. Webster's house, and expected to go into it next week.

At the House, Cranston made a personal explanation, referring to an article in the Globe asserting that Rathbun had made him take back almost everything that he had said. Cranston denied that he had taken back any of his assertions. Rathbun controverted some of his explanatory remarks, and Burke questioned him still more; but they did not reply.

A. V. Brown, from the Committee on the Territories, reported a new Oregon Territory bill, extending the Iowa Territory to the Pacific Ocean. Referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

The Speaker commenced the call for resolutions at South Carolina, and moved south and west as far as Ohio. A multitude of resolutions were offered, and among them two by Cave Johnson, who had given notice of them, unnoticed, in connivance with the Speaker, on Saturday. They restored the rules rescinded at the commencement of the session, by which a bare majority of the House can go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and come out of it, at pleasure. They were both adopted by yeas and nays this day.

An attempt was made to fix a day for taking up the new Tariff bill and adhering to it from day to day till finally disposed of. The motion to lay this on the table was lost by a close vote, and the motion for the previous question by a still closer one, and it failed. An old notice of Giddings to modify the gag-rule was smothered on a point of order. Adjourned at half-past three.

12th. At the House, Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, made an explanatory statement by reading an article in the Boston Courier, purporting to be a letter from the correspondent of that paper at Washington. It charged Hamlin with some silly speech on a subject upon which he appealed to the whole House to witness that he had not opened his lips. Elisha R. Potter made a cool,

tame speech on the Rhode Island question. When he closed, I rose and addressed the Speaker; but he gave the floor to Andrew Kennedy, the rabid Democrat of Indiana. Motions of reconsideration were made of votes for printing extra numbers of copies of the report of the Commissioner of Patents, and of the Tariff report and bill from the Committee of Ways and Means; but both failed.

McKay, Chairman of the committee, moved to suspend the rules to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union to take up the West Point Military Academy Appropriation bill—which he carried now by a bare majority. Dromgoole was in the chair. Hale, of New Hampshire, had moved a substitute for the bill, to abolish the Academy. Washington Hunt, of Lockport, Thirty-Fourth Congressional District of New York, made a judicious and moderate speech in favor of the Academy, and Thomas H. Seymour, of Hartford, First Connecticut Congressional District, a hack speech against it. The debate for the day was well closed by Joseph R. Ingersoll; after which the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

13th. At the House, R. C. Winthrop came to my seat and said he proposed to move to-morrow morning a suspension of the rules to offer a resolution against the annexation of Texas. He read the resolution that I had prepared yesterday of a call on the President to inform the House whether he was negotiating for the annexation of Texas, and said the answer to that call would be of deeper import than perhaps I imagined. He said he believed it necessary to make an explosion on the subject. The explosion will come too late.

Parmenter, by leave, reported a bill from the Naval Committee, limiting the number of officers in the navy and regulating the complement of crews of vessels of war, and for other purposes, which was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. I enquired if there was a report with the bill; and Parmenter brought me a short report accompanying another bill, which he had before reported, to regulate the civil department of the navy-yards. He moved to print twenty-five thousand copies of that report; which was carried.

Andrew Kennedy then took the floor for an hour on the

Rhode Island memorial, and expended a full blast of his Democracy upon the House. This debate consists, on the part of Burke, who brought it forward, and his compeers, of indefinite general invective against the Whigs. When he closed, I addressed the Speaker; but he gave the floor to Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, at whose motion the subject was postponed till to-morrow.

Dromgoole reported back from the Committee of Ways and Means the bill to repeal the first seven sections of the Act to distribute the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, and to grant pre-emption rights, approved 4th September, 1841; and this bill was driven through by a series of previous questions, against the remonstrances of Whig members. At the third reading, Andrew Stewart obtained the floor and made an hour speech against it, answered by Henley, of Indiana, and the previous question. When this work was done, McKay moved a suspension of the rules to receive reports of committees which would occasion no debate; and Dromgoole, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported the Sub-Treasury bill; referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Adjourned.

14th. Meeting of the select committee on the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts. All the members of the committee present, except Freeman H. Morse, of Maine, the late Thomas W. Gilmer's place not having been supplied. His appointment as Secretary of the Navy, his presentation of his report to the House, and his resignation as a member of the House, were all cotemporaneous with the last meeting of the committee. His instantaneous and violent death by the bursting of the great gun of the Princeton may point a moral, but will not heal the wound inflicted upon freedom and the rights of human nature by his life.

At this meeting Joseph R. Ingersoll read his report on the Massachusetts resolves. It is an elaborate, eloquent, verbose, and sophistical counter-argument to mine, which he has had in his hands all the time that he has been preparing it. He was two hours in reading it. Garrett Davis said that he should also sign it. Edmund Burke said his report was ready, but that he

did not wish to read it in committee. Burt was impatient for the immediate report to the House; but Sample said he wished to prepare a report also; and it was known that Morse intended the same thing.

I objected to presenting the final report to the House until all the separate reports shall have been submitted to the committee; and we adjourned to meet again Saturday morning at nine o'clock. I found the House already in session, and French was reading the journal of yesterday. George J. Catlin, of Connecticut, Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, Democrats, and Charles Hudson, of Massachusetts, Whig, made a joint onset for a suspension of the rules to obtain the use of the hall for an adjourned Congressional temperance-society meeting next Friday evening; but they failed for want of a voting quorum, and chiefly because Hopkins said it would cost the nation twenty or twenty-five dollars for candles.

Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, took the floor for an hour upon the Rhode Island memorial. He exposed the absurdities of Rathbun and Andrew Kennedy with great spirit, and scrutinized with great effect the Constitution of New Hampshire, and the recorded opinions of Martin Van Buren on the right of suffrage.

When he finished, I made a third attempt to address the House; but Causin and McClernand struggled also for the floor, and the Speaker gave it for to-morrow to McClernand.

The West Point Academy Appropriation bill occupied the remainder of the day in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Dromgoole in the chair.

16th. At nine o'clock the select committee on the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts met in the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures.

Edmund Burke, after repeatedly saying that he had no desire to read his report, did read it, and occupied little short of two hours. It is an epitome of New Hampshire Democracy, mingled with South Carolina slavery, a bitter infusion of partisan malignity, and the oozings out of personal venom against me.

Burt immediately moved that the resolution closing Inger-

soll's report, that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the subject, be reported to the House this day; but Sample wanted further time to prepare his report, and Morse, confined to his lodgings by indisposition, wished also for time to prepare his.

I objected to reporting to the House that the committee be discharged, till all the separate reports shall have been read in committee.

Ingersoll, in full concert with Burt, was earnest for reporting this day; but Davis, more liberal, was willing to allow a few days for Sample and Morse to prepare their reports. After some discussion, Ingersoll moved that the report asking to be discharged should be made to the House next Saturday—which was carried, though, whimsically enough, Burt, Giddings, and myself voted against it. The committee adjourned to Saturday next, nine o'clock.

Ingersoll, certainly under the spur of Burt, now, for the first time, objected to my minutes introductory to the journal of the committee, which commenced at the second meeting on the 4th of January. I said that my preliminary matter was only for my own use, to complete the journal of the committee, and I did not wish it to be made part of the journal, if there was any objection to it.

18th. Mr. Stone, the engraver, called on me and left with me several papers relating to the frauds practised upon the public, and especially upon the House of Representatives, in the cost of engraving maps, which was debated last Saturday. These papers implicate Hugh A. Garland, the Clerk of the House of the Twenty-Sixth Congress, and McNulty, the Clerk of the present House, with Philip Haas, the German Jew lithographer. Nor is Matthew St. Clair Clarke, the Clerk of the House in the last Congress, entirely free from blame. The party policy of screening delinquents of their own side defeats every attempt to check these frauds.

Mr. French came and invited me to attend a meeting at the Apollo Hall this evening to form an anti-duelling society, and to address the meeting—which I declined, owing to my age and infirmities. I received a letter from the old clergyman Mr.

Addison, repeating the same invitation, but referred him to Mr. French for the answer.

At the House, this was the regular day, now occurring only once a fortnight, for the call of the States for petitions. John W. Davis moved to suspend the rules to call the committees for reports, but, not succeeding, George W. Jones moved a suspension of the rules for one hour, to receive such reports as would give rise to no debate. This was carried; but it was a snare. Weller, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a resolution to print fifteen thousand copies extra of the report of the committee accompanying the Sub-Treasury bill. John White, late Speaker, objected, and insisted that the motion could not be entertained, the suspension of the rules being conditional, only for undebatable reports. The Speaker so decided, but suffered himself to be worried by Weller's overbearing pertinacity so far as to receive the motion and lay it over till to-morrow.

Campbell, Chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia, reported a bill to extend the charter of the District banks, and a report. McCausland moved to lay the bill on the table, but, after some sputtering, withdrew his motion. The bill was referred to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and was ordered, with the report, to be printed. Charles J. Ingersoll, by the restored tyrant rule of suspending the rules by a bare majority to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, (moved) to take up a motion made some weeks since by him to reconsider a resolution reported by himself from the Committee of Foreign Affairs—that it is inexpedient for Congress to act in any manner at present on the Oregon question. He made an elaborate, rascally hour speech, to which Winthrop and Morse, of Maine, answered off-hand, and made him eat his words.

The committee rose, the House adjourned, and the day was lost for petitions and petitioners.

19th. At the House, resolutions from the State Legislatures were presented (and received without objection) by Alcée La Branche, from Louisiana, by Benjamin A. Bidlack, from Pennsylvania, and by William H. Hammett, from Mississippi. One

of the last was for the annexation of Texas; and no objection was made to the reception of that. John A. McClernand, of Illinois, railed out his hour upon the Rhode Island memorial. When he closed, I rose again and addressed the Chair; but he gave the floor to Lemuel Stetson, of Keeneville, New York, for to-morrow.

20th. The debate at the House on the bill to remove the United States Circuit and District Courts in the State of Ohio, from Cincinnati to Columbus, was renewed, on the motion of John P. Hale, of Dover, New Hampshire, to reconsider the vote by which the bill was yesterday passed. The report of Saunders yesterday from the Judiciary Committee had been against the passage of the bill; so that he readily consented to the reconsideration, which sent the bill back to the question upon its passage. The delegation from the State were divided, rather by a line of local interests than of politics. Duncan and Weller, two of the bitterest Democrats in the House, were at sharp points between Cincinnati and Columbus. A further reconsideration of the vote by which the bill had been engrossed was necessary to place it in an amendable condition—that is, at the second reading. This was done, and Saunders offered an amendment, and then the bill passed again the second and third reading, whereupon Samuel Simons, of Bridgeport, Connecticut, moved another reconsideration, which the Speaker decided to be inadmissible—a second motion for reconsideration, after one has been carried, not being in order. Duncan appealed from the decision, saying that after the adoption of an amendment it was no longer the same vote. The Speaker, stubbornly persisting in his decision, got into a sharp altercation with John White, the Speaker of the last House, in which he came off second best; so that when it came to the issue by yeas and nays the vote was a tie, seventy-three to seventy-three, and his decision was sustained only by his own vote.

The Rhode Island memorial then came up, and Lemuel Stetson wasted an hour in a labored and very dull defence of the changeable opinions of Martin Van Buren upon the right of suffrage.

When he closed, I again addressed the Chair, and said I

wished to say a few words; but the Speaker said he had assigned the floor to Mr. Simons.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Cave Johnson in the chair. The discussion upon the Fortification bill was closed, and it was laid aside, and at the motion of Haralson, Chairman of the Committee of Military Affairs, the bill from the Senate to remount the old second regiment of dragoons was taken up. McKay very faintly opposed it. Hale moved an amendment, which he knew to be not in order, to disband the eighth regiment of infantry. I moved to disband the rifle regiment itself, and spoke about half an hour.

21st. I made about half my speech yesterday in committee of the whole on the state of the Union, when the committee rose, and the House adjourned. My time last evening and this morning was absorbed in looking up the journals and proceedings of the second session of the last Congress upon the reduction of the army and the dismounting of the second regiment of dragoons and turning it into a rifle regiment.

At the House, after some miscellaneous business, part of which was a memorial presented by George W. Summers from the Colonization Society of the District of Columbia, praying for aid from Congress, the Rhode Island memorial was taken up. Samuel Simons, of Bridgeport, Connecticut, had the floor upon Causin's motion to discharge the select committee from the further consideration of the memorial. Simons moved the previous question; whereupon Burke asked leave to modify his motion for leave to send for persons and papers. It was to limit the call to two persons in Rhode Island, with papers. The Speaker pronounced this modification not in order under the previous question. The main question was first on Causin's motion to discharge the committee, which was lost by yeas and nays—seventy to eighty-six; then on the resolution of leave to send for persons and papers, which Elmer moved to lay on the table; lost—seventy-two to eighty-four. And the resolution was then carried—seventy-eight to seventy-one.

I had repeatedly requested to be heard, and John P. Kennedy had appealed to the generosity of the House to indulge me; but Dromgoole said it could not be done.

John J. Hardin, of Illinois, voted with the majority for the privilege of moving a reconsideration, which he did, and thereby tricked out an hour-speech, which he devoted exclusively to a reply to Stetson's vindication of Martin Van Buren. He closed by moving the previous question on his motion to reconsider, which he did, to withdraw it upon my rising to follow him; but, before he closed, a motion was made to lay on the table his motion to reconsider. Weller moved a call of the House—which consumed a full hour and produced only one hundred and seventy-one members, when further proceedings were suspended; then Burke's motion to lay on the table the motion to reconsider was carried—eighty-nine to seventy-seven. I asked Burke to move now his promised call on the President for information and documents concerning the Rhode Island quarrel; but he said he would move the call when it should be in order. I have thus been, by concerted action of the Speaker, excluded from speaking on this subject.

A remarkable circumstance of the present times is the habitual absence of more than fifty members of the House—about thirty of them in the city, always ready to answer a party summons, but seldom seen at any other time in the House. They are paid as if they attended twelve hours a day. Full half the time there is no quorum in the House.

After the passage of the resolution allowing the committee on the Rhode Island memorial to send for persons and papers, the House went into committee of the whole on the state of the Union, and took up the bill to repeal the provision of the Act of August, 1842, which converted the second regiment of dragoons into a rifle regiment. I completed my hour speech, and was just entering upon the most interesting point of it, when Cave Johnson the Chairman's hammer came down like the razor of the guillotine. Haralson, the Chairman of the Committee of Military Affairs, answered me by an hour speech, and the committee rose, and the House adjourned.

Mr. Grinnell and Mr. Winthrop had invited me to meet at their lodgings the Whig members of the Massachusetts delegation, to have some consultation together upon some of the measures under consideration of the House. I went accord-

ingly. At the meeting we discoursed upon Texas, the tariff, the Massachusetts resolves, and the Virginia counter-resolutions. Mr. Abbott is a member of the select committee on the latter, and said he had not been notified to attend any meeting of the committee. We came to no definite conclusion upon anything.

22d. Mr. Francis Markoe, of the Department of State, the main pillar of the National Institute, had sent me last week the memorial of that body to Congress, which I had agreed to present to the House of Representatives, and which Levi Woodbury presented yesterday to the Senate. Mr. Markoe had requested an interview with me, and I had promised to call on him, but was prevented from performing my promise by visitors, upon business or curiosity, at the only time when I could have performed it. On going to the House this morning, I met Mr. Markoe at the door of the hall, where he was watching to meet me, and he asked a short conference with me; for which purpose we retired into the chamber of the Committee of Manufactures. He had with him a mass of manuscript documents, forming a folio volume as thick as a Corpus Juris, to be communicated to the House with the memorial, and which he wishes to have printed with it.

I promised to present the memorial on the first day when it will be in order.

Mr. Markoe urged me, with great importunity, to take an active part at the anniversary meeting of the Institute, to be held next month, especially by delivering an address, though it should be only of a few minutes; but I gave him no encouragement to expect it. I said, however, that I would do all in my power to promote the objects of the Institute.

I found the House in session. There had been a motion for a call of the House to obtain a quorum; but in the progress of the motion for the call, a quorum having appeared, the call was refused, by yeas and nays—sixty-six to seventy-five. The yeas and nays were also taken upon Weller's motion to print fifteen thousand extra copies of the Sub-Treasury bill report from the Committee of Ways and Means—one hundred and eight to fifty-one; and upon a motion of Garrett Davis to

suspend the rules for him to introduce a new rule, requiring the Clerk to call over the roll every morning and record the members present and the absentees—eighty-five to eighty-six.

The Speaker called for reports from select committees, and Dromgoole presented a report from the select committee appointed on the 9th on the counter-resolutions of the Legislatures of Virginia and Alabama to the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts of 23d of March, 1843. The committee consisted of Dromgoole, Rhett, of South Carolina, Boyd, of Kentucky, *Amos Abbott*, of Massachusetts, Reding, of New Hampshire, *Strong*, of New York, *Brengle*, of Maryland, Roberts, of Mississippi, and Clinch, of Georgia. The report was short, and closed with two resolutions—one, that the compromises of the Constitution ought to be held sacred; and the other, that no proposition of amendment of the Constitution with regard to representation and direct taxation ought to be recommended by Congress, but that every such proposition ought to be promptly and decisively condemned. He moved the previous question on the resolutions.

I asked him to withdraw his motion to allow me to move the reference of the report and resolutions to the committee of the whole on the state of the Union, for discussion.

He refused.

Winthrop moved a call of the House; refused. Abbott said he had never been notified of any meeting of the select committee, or of the report. Dromgoole said he had sent a messenger-boy to notify all the members of the committee; that all the members had attended, except Mr. Abbott, who was sick, and Mr. Strong and Mr. Brengle, who had both gone home; and the report was unanimous. The previous question was carried, by yeas and nays—one hundred and eighteen to fifty-one. Parmenter moved to lay the report and resolutions on the table. Winthrop moved as an amendment, until the question is decided whether the annexation of Texas be considered as the settled policy of this Government—which the Speaker decided was not in order.

The motion to lay on the table was lost—forty-three to one hundred and thirty-two; and, a question being taken on each

resolution, the first was carried, one hundred and fifty-eight to eighteen, and the second, one hundred and twenty-seven to forty-one.

These votes, in immediate succession to each other, show that, of the minority on the second, twenty-three did not vote on the first at all. Steenrod moved a reconsideration, for the purpose of having it rejected, and it was rejected without a division. Before the last vote by yeas and nays, the Speaker announced that the morning hour had expired; but Dromgoole moved to suspend the rules to finish this business, and it was carried. The whole matter was disposed of in an hour and a half.

23d. Meeting at nine o'clock this morning of the select committee on the resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts of 23d of March, 1843, proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States whereby representation and direct taxation shall be apportioned according to the numbers of free population. All the members of the committee present, though two of them came in late.

Mr. Sample, of Indiana, read his report, which occupied about an hour—a split-difference, Laodicean dissertation—neither hot nor cold, or rather both hot and cold. Mr. Morse asked further time, till next Tuesday week, to prepare his report, pleading sickness and occupation on other committees, and his own indecision whether he would make a separate report or not. There had been a vote last Saturday that the report to the House should be made this day. I moved a reconsideration of that vote, and the postponement of the report to the House till Tuesday, the 2d of April. This was carried, Burke, Burt, and Ingersoll voting against it.

I moved that a list of sixteen petitions referred to the committee should be entered on the minutes of the journal—which was resisted, in a provoking spirit of chicanery, because they had not been read and acted upon in committee. The question was not taken on my motion. The committee adjourned to Tuesday morning, 2d April.

After the adjournment, Burt gave me notice that he should move in the House an order to the committee to report to the

House immediately. He afterwards came to my seat and said that he should not make his motion till Monday. I found the House in session, and immediately after I entered, the Speaker, evidently in concert with Burt, called for reports from select committees; but Burt was not ready with his motion, and I was silent. But Burke, Chairman of the select committee on the Rhode Island memorial, moved a long and minutely detailed call upon the President for documents relating to his interference in the insurgent movements in Rhode Island in 1842. The motion was adopted without a word of opposition or of comment.

25th. I approach the term when my daily journal must cease from physical disability to keep it up. I have now struggled nearly five years, without the interval of a day, while mind and body have been wearing away under the daily, silent, but unremitting erosion of time. I rose this morning at four, and, with smarting, bloodshot eye, and shivering hand, still sat down and wrote to fill up the chasm of the closing days of the last week; but my stern-chase after Time is, to borrow a simile from Tom Paine, like the race of a man with a wooden leg after a horse.

At the House, it was the regular day for the call of resolutions; but James A. Black, Chairman of a select committee on retrenchment, presented a report with a bill to regulate the pay of the army, and for other purposes; twice read, and ordered to be printed; and, after some chicanery, five thousand extra copies of the report were ordered to be printed. Black said the merit of the bill consisted in reducing half a million of dollars a year of the public expenditures. Fudge!

The Speaker began the call for resolutions with Ohio, proceeding west and south. Giddings offered counter-resolutions, asserting the right of proposing amendments to the Constitution against those adopted last Friday. They lie over for debate.

Burt, of South Carolina, made his threatened motion to require the select committee on the Massachusetts resolutions (to report) to-morrow morning. After some sparring altercation, and a statement of the facts by me, I moved to lay Burt's reso-

lution on the table, and it was carried by a majority of two votes. Woodward then offered the same resolution in the same words. I objected to it, as not in order, and the Speaker so decided. Woodward then modified his resolution so as to call for the report on Wednesday morning. I moved to lay that on the table, and it was again carried. Lucas, of Virginia, afterwards moved that another member be appointed on the committee in the place of T: W. Gilmer; which was carried without opposition.

After a multitude of other resolutions, John P. Kennedy offered one declaring the approbation of the House of certain protective-tariff opinions expressed by Andrew Jackson in a letter to Dr. L. H. Coleman, April 26th, 1824—which produced such a prodigious perplexity among the Jackson gang that they could deliver themselves of it only by a premature and precipitate adjournment.

26th. The Commissioner of Patents, H. L. Ellsworth, came, with Jeremiah E. Cary, of Cherry Valley, member from the Twenty-First Congressional District of New York, Otsego and Scoharie, and delivered to me a letter from himself, with one from Julius Pratt & Co., manufacturers at Meriden, Connecticut, and a present of a milk-white ivory cane, one yard long, made of one elephant's tooth, tipped with silver and steel, with the American eagle inlaid in gold on its top, and a ring under the pommel, inscribed with my name, and the words, "Justum, et tenacem propositi virum." The letter requests that on the day when the gag-rule shall be finally abolished I will insert the date after the inscription on the ring.

After expressing my deep sensibility to this testimonial of kindness and approbation of my public conduct, I promised a written answer to Mr. Pratt's letter, and, alluding to my custom of declining valuable presents from individuals for public service, I accepted the cane as a trust to be returned when the date of the extinction of the gag-rule shall be accomplished.

At the House, three hours were consumed in a convulsive struggle to get rid of John P. Kennedy's resolution quoting and adopting General Jackson's explicit declaration in favor of a protective tariff in 1824. Brown, of Indiana, offered a lame

apology for introducing yesterday a spurious counter-sentiment of Henry Clay; but, while acknowledging that he could not now substantiate the fact by proof, he attempted to reiterate the charge by recurring to a report of another speech of Clay, seeming to give color to the same charge.

John White fastened upon him, and, against a tide and torrent of interruptions, prostrated the calumny against Clay till he drove the Speaker to the last resort of the gag to stop him for irrelevancy.

Committee of the whole on the state of the Union, Cave Johnson in the chair. The bill for remounting the second regiment of dragoons came up. Jameson, of Missouri, Cross, of Arkansas, and, above all, Henry Dodge, the delegate from Wisconsin, urged so intensely the necessity of mounted men for defence against and control over the Indians that all resistance was vain. I withdrew the amendment to disband the regiment, and the bill was reported to the House and passed by yeas and nays—ninety-four to fifty-six; only one hundred and fifty votes. Forty dodgers not yet broken in to hail the triumph of the military power.

27th. At the House, the Speaker announced that William Lucas, of Charlestown, Tenth Congressional District of Virginia, was appointed a member of the select committee on the Massachusetts resolves in the place of the late Thomas W. Gilmer.

James G. Clinton, of Newburgh, Ninth Congressional District of New York, moved a suspension of the rules for a resolution calling on the Secretary of War to report to the House whether Lieutenant Braxton Bragg had been ordered away from this city by the commanding General, Scott, knowing that Lieutenant Bragg was under examination as a witness before a committee of the House, and whether he has not been arrested by order of General Scott for fear or suspicion of the testimony he was giving before the committee. The rules were suspended, one hundred and three to forty-three, and the resolution adopted, ninety to sixty-three, all amendment being precluded by the previous question.

I voted for the suspension and for the resolution, thinking

that the main allegation, that the general had ordered away, and then arrested, an officer under examination as a witness by a committee of the House, was a fit subject of enquiry; but I totally disapproved the direct imputation upon the motives of the general, at all events unnecessary, and, as I believed, unfounded.

30th. At the House this morning, the answer of the Secretary of War, William Wilkins, to the resolution adopted last Wednesday under the screw of the previous question, and containing a rash and offensive imputation upon the conduct and character of General Scott, was communicated by the Speaker and read. It completely justifies the proceedings of General Scott in the transactions to which the resolution applied, transfers the load of censure upon Lieutenant Bragg, and justly rebukes the scandalous enquiry as to the motives of General Scott. The whole proceeding is characteristic of the malignant stolidity of James G. Clinton, and of the base subserviency of the majority of the House to the venomous passions of the meanest of their party hacks. General Clinch called for the reading of the report and the accompanying documents, and the printing of two thousand extra copies of them; but the report only was read. The documents were ordered to be printed, but no extra number of them.

General Clinch told me he had informed General Scott of the speech I had yesterday made in his defence, for which he returned me his thanks, and with which he was highly gratified.

Hungerford moved to go into committee of the whole on the state of the Union. Carried against the private business —eighty-seven to sixty-one. The bill to regulate the pay of the army was taken up, Weller in the chair. John Pettit, of La Fayette, Ninth Congressional District of Indiana, moved to strike out the seventeenth section of the bill fixing the pay of chaplains in the army at six hundred dollars a year, and made a speech against having any chaplains. The same man had moved at the commencement of the present session of Congress to dispense with Chaplains in both Houses. He met with no support then, nor with any now. Holmes, of Charleston,

South Carolina, Hammett, of Mississippi, Joseph R. Ingersoll and Edward Joy Morris, of Philadelphia, and Hardin, of Illinois, made counter-speeches for display; and John Wentworth, of Illinois, one of vulgar, hypocritical buffoonery, with continual bitter allusions to the songs at the Whig mass-meetings. This called up Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana—when Steenrod interposed, and by the most urgent entreaties prevailed upon Pettit to withdraw his motion. But the agitation was such that the committee immediately rose. Joseph R. Ingersoll moved to adjourn to one o'clock on Monday, to allow time for members to attend the opening of the anniversary meeting of the National Institute, but he failed. The House adjourned before three o'clock.

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